UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT
LIBRARIES
AUG - 7 1947

AUG. 11, 1947

New Republic

Thomas Jefferson

James Madison

Abraham Lincoln

Oliver Wendell Holmes

Louis D. Brandeis

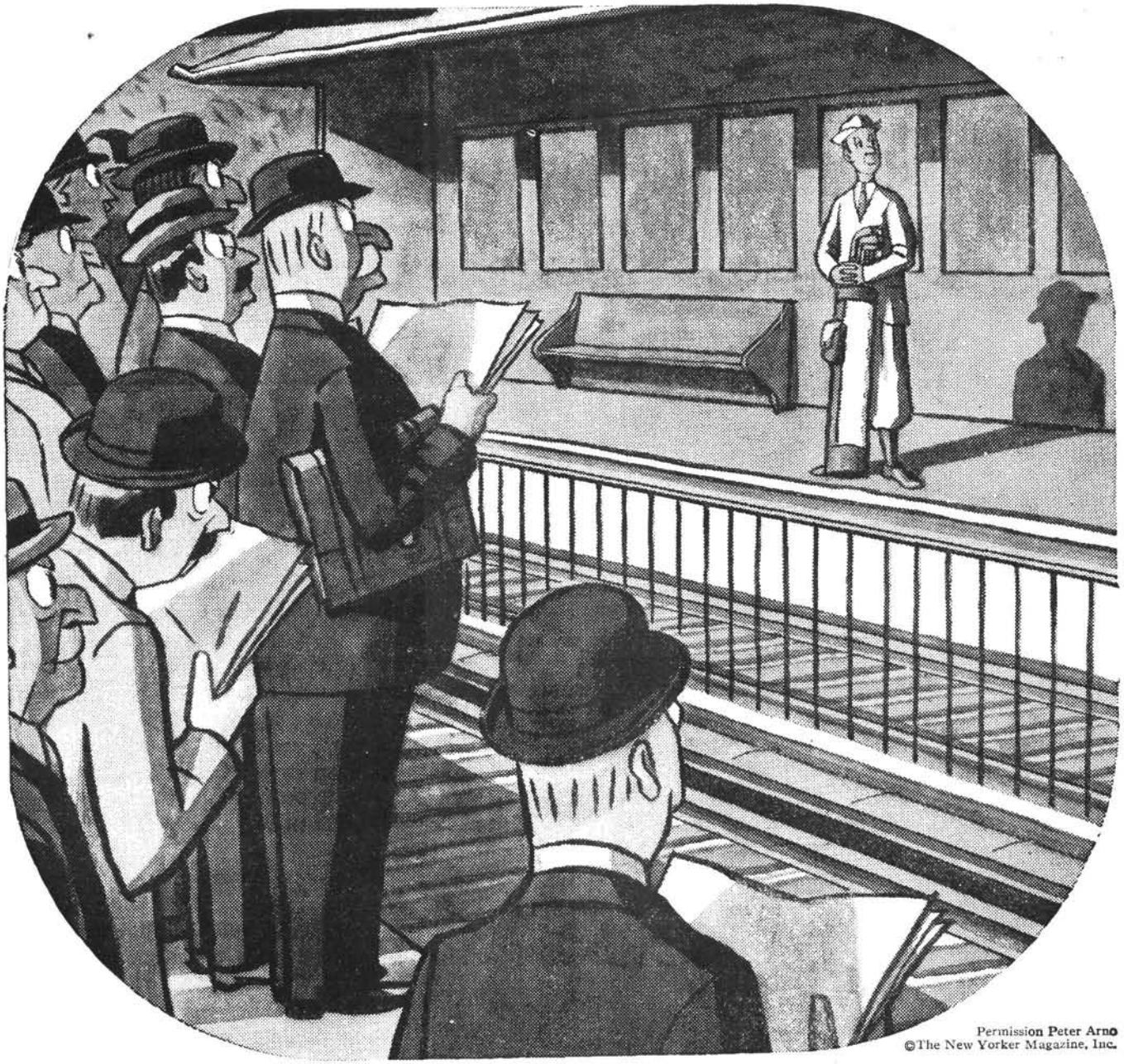
Charles Evans Hughes

SUBVERSIVE!

REPORT ON THE STATE OF CIVIL LIBERTIES TODAY

15 CENTS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Permission Peter Arno
©The New Yorker Magazine, Inc.

PUZZLE:

Station Scene, 1957. Find the man who is getting a steady income from U.S. Savings Bonds. He was smart enough to start buying, back in 1947.

Of all the ways of saving up a tidy sum of money, one of the *easiest* and *safest* ways is to invest your money in U. S. Bonds.

You can buy Bonds either through the Payroll Savings Plan at your place of business—or if the Payroll Plan is not available to you, but you *do* have a checking account, through the Bond-a-Month Plan at your local bank.

Both ways repay you $4 for every $3 you save, by the time your Bonds mature. Choose the sum you can afford from the chart on the right. Start saving today!

Save each week	AND YOU WILL HAVE		
	In 1 Year	In 5 Years	In 10 Years
$2.50	$130.00	$668.97	$1,440.84
3.75	195.00	1,004.20	2,163.45
7.50	390.00	2,009.02	4,329.02
12.50	650.00	3,348.95	7,217.20
18.75	975.00	5,024.24	10,828.74

Save the easy, automatic way ... with U.S. Savings Bonds

Contributed by this magazine

in co-operation with the Magazine Publishers of America as a public service.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New Republic

CONTENTS FOR AUG. 11, 1947

3 Washington Wire
5 News in Focus
10 Civil Liberties Today
14 The Attack on Human Rights, by Henry Wallace
16 Socialization in Europe:
16 France
17 Great Britain
18 Italy
18 Sweden
19 Czechoslovakia
20 Second Baseman
24 Germans Learn Our Secrets
27 Books in Review
32 Farm
34 Movies
35 Radio
37 Labor
38 Correspondence
39 Bandwagon

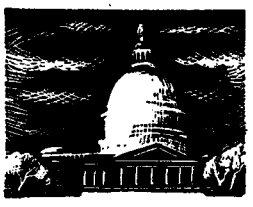
EDITOR: *Henry A. Wallace*
PUBLISHER: *Michael Straight*
ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER: *William D. Patterson*
EDITORIAL DIRECTOR: *Bruce Bliven*
EXECUTIVE EDITOR: *Francis Brennan*
MANAGING EDITOR: *Norman Grieser*
WASHINGTON EDITOR: *William Walton*
SENIOR EDITORS: *Helen Fuller, William Harlan Hale, Robert Hatch, James R. Newman, Theodore H. White*
ASSOCIATE EDITORS: *Lew Frank Jr., Elizabeth Huling, George Mayberry*
ASSOCIATE ART EDITOR: *James Grunbaum*
ASSISTANT EDITORS: *Jane Bedell, Jean Begeman, Lynn Chase, Jan Hasbrouck, Graham Hovey, Joseph Lyford, Richard Strouse, Thomas Whiteside*
STAFF CONTRIBUTORS: *Saul Carson, Malcolm Cowley, Ralph G. Martin, Angus McDonald, Charles Miller, Shirley O'Hara, Thomas Reynolds, Vincent Sheean, Willard Shelton, Cecil Smith, Stark Young*
LIBRARIAN: *Patricia Kuhnel*
RESEARCHERS: *Elizabeth Bigler, Barbara Greenfeld, Naomi Horowitz, Sally Howell, Rita Raphael, Ruth Tarcov, Myriam Wilson*
TREASURER: *Daniel Mebane*
ADVERTISING MANAGER: *E. G. Wood*
CIRCULATION MANAGER: *Eric Shumway*
PRODUCTION MANAGER: *Anthony J. Ballo*

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1947, IN THE U. S. A. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y. ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879. SINGLE COPY, 15¢; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, SIX DOLLARS; CANADA & FOREIGN, SEVEN DOLLARS. PRINTED IN THE U. S. A.

Washington Wire

The Man Taft

We still don't know whether bleak, brusque, belligerent Bob Taft (R, Ohio) is going to be the isolationists' White Hope in 1948. At Columbus, Ohio, he said, in effect, that the Truman foreign policy gave him a pain, but for the time being his only counter-proposals were to tie more restrictions on US loans abroad, and to revive Germany.



The Chicago *Tribune*, which is backing Taft for president and trying to read Vandenberg, Dewey and Stassen out of the party as arrant "internationalists," could get as much satisfaction out of this ambiguous Taft statement as any other GOP organ. Taft is the big Marshall Plan enigma, right at the moment. He's approved most of the Truman foreign-aid bills at this session, but split with Vandenberg to support the wool-tariff grab.

More significantly, Taft based his sorry fight against Lilienthal on the fact that the latter had supported the American program of trying to internationalize control of the atomic bomb which he, Taft, wanted to put back under sole US military control. Taft's strange friendship with Bob LaFollette in 1944 seemed to be based chiefly on their joint isolationism.

Taft probably won't get the GOP presidential nomination in any case, but if in the course of campaigning, he takes an isolationist stand, he will bring the hidden fissure within the party on foreign affairs smack into the open.

The Brewster-Hughes-Kaiser-FDR investigation is sure packing them in! Just at the moment it seems to have got a bit out of the hands of able, tricky Senator Owen Brewster (R, Maine) and slow, plodding, small-town Senator Homer Ferguson (R, Mich.). It's amusing to watch Senator Claude Pepper (D, Fla.), on the opposite side, ask a quiet question or two of each witness, and frequently puncture the balloons blown up by the two Republicans.

If there's been skulduggery in air contracts, the whole nation wants to know it; but so far, the inquiry has chiefly highlighted the mysterious affinity between Brewster and the great Pan-American Airways. Just what the relationship is, nobody knows. Maybe just friendship. But every Washington correspondent has seen it; it's a deeper bond than that between lawyer and client, father and son, husband and wife. Any attack on Pan-American brings Brewster bristling to his feet.

This has been a good year for Japanese beetles and lobbyists. The latter have to register for the first time, under the LaFollette-Monroney Act. Up to recess time 886 had registered and, based on first-quarter returns, it can be conservatively estimated that $5 million is now being paid annually for direct, front-line Washington lobbyists and staffs, with vastly bigger sums back in home constituencies.

Lobbyists flourish here chiefly because Congress won't put its own procedure in order. They thrive on the complexity and the diffusion of responsibility of the present structure. Actually it's little use attacking the lobbyists (though that's fun, too); they will continue till Congress really streamlines itself.

Notes. – Representative Wright Patman (D, Texas) finally got the leaflet "Fascism in Action" printed by Congress as a counterpart of "Communism in Action," but the public must pay 40 cents a copy, while the anti-Red book is distributed free. . . . It's estimated that a last-minute clause, which somebody in the House slipped into the Bureau of Labor Statistics' appropriation, will cost taxpayers a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EXCLUSIVE NEW REPUBLIC ARTICLES

KEEP YOU AHEAD OF THE NEWS!

The facts about the "Texas City Disaster"

Remember the Texas City explosion that happened in the early part of this year?

433 dead. 128 missing. 1,000 injured. Millions in damage . . . and the story behind the blast that was not given!

¶ However, a few issues ago *New Republic* came out with a "Disaster Report" in the famous News in Focus section. It lifted the lid on certain important facts in the Grandcamp mystery; gave a vital "chronology of fact and failure" of the explosion. The thin but effective veil of silence still hovers over Texas City and *to date no other publication has carried the facts as* NR *reported them.*

¶ To stay ahead of the news read *New Republic* regularly. You will read a fact-finding, fact-giving weekly report on news events; political-economic issues affecting your daily life. All this plus the host of other features you see in this issue. Use *New Republic* for a year!

Costs but six dollars and worth every penny of it.

To subscribe—clip and mail coupon today.

NEW REPUBLIC
40 East 49th Street, New York 17, N. Y.
Send me 17 weeks of the New Republic at trial rate of $2 ☐; *or* 1 year for $6 ☐.
(Canadian & Foreign $2.85 for 17 weeks, $7 a year)
☐ Send bill ☐ Remittance enclosed

*Name*_____

*Address*_____

*City & Zone*_____

*State*_____

8-11-47

New Republic

Paste on penny postcard and return now

couple of hundred thousand dollars; it allows only so many of the statisticians to work in Washington, the rest have to reside in far-off states where their work can't be easily correlated. . . . Playwright Bob Sherwood's compilation of Harry Hopkins' memoirs will appear in *Collier's* next spring; it was arranged before Hopkins' death. . . . America's economy can be summarized in brief: Price trends still going up; buying power still coming down. . . . Congressmen repeatedly tried to give the FBI discretionary power in the last session, one of the greatest dangers, if successful, this country could face; this would transform J. Edgar Hoover's organization from an efficient police force into a policy-making body—then look out. . . . American military stocks used by Holland against the Indonesians were left there in 1946, according to Secretary George C. Marshall, because they were too small to recapture under lend-lease; it transpires that the amounts too small to recapture included 54 bombing planes, 64 fighter craft, 159 small machine guns and other military equipment. . . . Back in 1945, the NAM ridiculed FDR's "60-million-job" prediction and declared 33 million was the limit; the other 27 million, the NAM economists asserted, would have to be "given Federal jobs" —another chance for the NAM to check up on the facts of life. . . . Representative Fred A. Hartley Jr. (R, N. J.), co-author of the Taft-Hartley Act, says he plans to quit Congress next year "voluntarily"; angry trade unionists say he would be defeated anyway, as in the case of ex-Representative Martin Dies (D, Texas). . . . One eighth of the total House membership will be traveling abroad this summer, a good thing probably. . . . As Elmer Davis quotes a famous Speaker of the House: "Some members can't open their mouths without subtracting from the sum total of human knowledge." . . . Everybody seems to be drawing different conclusions from the Nourse-Clark-Keyserling Economic Council report; whatever its faults, it's a great forward step to have such reports regularly made.

Washington T. R. B.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New Republic

VOLUME 117, NUMBER 6, ISSUE 1706, NEW YORK CITY, AUGUST 11, 1947

News in Focus

Summer in the Park

WHEN Gerald L. K. Smith looked around at the faces gathered to hear him speak at the base of the Washington Monument this warm Sunday evening, he abruptly shifted gears. Scores of extra police were on duty about the grassy slopes of the amphitheatre. A strident little band of Smith followers had come early, grouped themselves near the woodland stage waiting for their leader. In the soft August dusk they were joined by a curious crowd—a few picnicking families weary from their Sunday outing, some sailors strolling with girls in summer cotton dresses, boys from the nearby baseball diamonds, amorous couples who sat up in the grass when oratory started cracking from the amplifiers.

Striding onto the stage, Gerald Smith, a man requiring more coat than pants, took one anguished look at the three or four hundred languid spectators and loudly proclaimed, "This was not intended as a mass meeting." Of course, in an advance letter sent to a "selected" list of "Christian Americans," Smith had predicted it would be a "historic night" giving his Christian nationalist cause nationwide prestige.

Undaunted by the crowd's smallness, Smith tiraded against Russia, communism, foreign-born Americans, Jews and Negroes, calling the latter "that child race," and made a piteous plea for the rights of the embattled white majority.

The audience, except for a tiny band of clapping zealots, remained quite unmoved. Unfortunately for Smith, Russia-baiting has been taken over by speakers more plausible than he.

With an angry warning to both Republicans and Democrats to heed his dire words or face destruction, Smith came to a hoarse, sweaty close. The tired families bundled their children home. The amorous couples long since had vanished toward darker nooks. Smith's legions apparently had also vanished long ago.

Chords and Discords

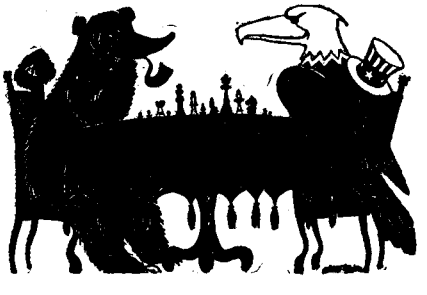
THE very real, heartening and right down historic accomplishment of the United Nations in obtaining a cease-fire order from the Dutch and Indonesians could hardly have been more encouraging.

Lamentably, the UN's inability to reach a decision on the Greek border incident existed coevally and produced a sour discord amidst the harmonious notes of the song of Indonesia. The intransigence of the US policy of containment, and the equal intransigence of the Soviet counter-policy of resistance to containment, remain.

If the Indonesian agreement justified a new high in optimism, the disagreement on Greece brought pessimism to a new low.

It was by an 8-to-0 vote—the US and the Soviets concurring, Great Britain, France and Belgium abstaining—that the Security Council ordered the governments of the Netherlands and of the Indonesian Republic to terminate forthwith their armed conflict. That was the most vigorously affirmative action ever taken on such an issue.

On the Greek border situation the vote was 9-to-2 but Soviet Delegate Andrei Gromyko's "no" provided a veto to the US-supported resolution to create a UN "watchdog" commission to patrol the northern Greek border on behalf of the Council. It was the Council's fifteenth veto (eleven of them Russian), and US Deputy Delegate Herschel V. Johnson, denouncing the action, said it placed the Council in a "very grave position."



Close observers of the UN, worried about the effect on the organization's future of the struggle over "containment," were not heartened by the relative ease with which the US and the Soviet Union were able to get together on the question of cessation of hostilities in Indonesia. The issue, they pointed out, was solvable precisely because it did not reach the basic area of US-Soviet differences.

On the eve of the Council's action on Indonesia, Washington offered its "good offices" to the Netherlands to solve the conflict; and, on what was generally believed to be Washington's urging, Greek Foreign Minister Tsaldaris warned that if the UN could not settle the border problem, "other means" would have to be used.

Taken together these two steps were seen as the start of an effort by the US either to prepare to act on controversial problems outside the UN, or to build up a threat of such action as a means of supplementing the State Department's basic policy of "Soviet containment." The Indonesian offer, while unconnected directly with the main issue, was interpreted as a reminder that Washington still highly values its independent diplomatic powers and does not rely entirely on the UN.

The real problem, however, is the border commission and it is believed that Washington will submit it again to the UN Assembly in September. If

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Second Anniversary

by Joseph Lyford

MY FRIEND Louis Novelli has been lying in one or another hospital ever since, some three years ago, he said goodbye to his buddies in a flak battery somewhere in Europe. For a man whose legs have gone to sleep he's still a long walk from his home in Mocanaqua, Pennsylvania.

The fellows in Louie's ward at Halloran General Hospital, Staten Island, New York, are paraplegics—paralysis cases. Most of them have seen the inside of a lot of hospitals. Louie doesn't mind Halloran. On days when the weather is good, he can look out of his window and see the trees and the green fields.

Each morning Louie is taken down to the recreation room. There he finds the physical instructor waiting for him. They grin at each other as Louie says: "OK, boss, let's get going." Then he gets up onto his crutches. Straining himself forward on emaciated, heavily braced legs, he reaches a wooden gangplank with two handrails. Seizing a rail with one hand, he hangs up his sticks, then inches himself along on his hands and braces. At the other end the instructor is waiting with the crutches. Louie grabs them and makes his way to a wooden platform with three low steps. He swings himself slowly over these curbs and then goes out into the sunlight for a turn around the courtyard, then back. Every morning Louie does this twice.

Louie has a half-moon smile that crinkles his eyes out of sight when he talks.

"There are three gaits to learn," he says, "the 'swing-up,' when you bring the legs up to the crutches one at a time; the 'swing-through,' when you advance the legs from behind to ahead of the crutches; and the 'four-point,' which is the hardest. You move the right crutch up, then the left leg, then the left crutch, then the right leg. That's the one I'm working on now." He wipes the sweat off his face.

When I asked Louie how he expects to celebrate V-J Day, he said he had his plans all worked out. On that day he will try to ambulate a little further.

the Soviets still resist, observers believe Washington may announce that it has done everything possible through the UN and that it will go along with an Anglo-American or Anglo-French-American commission outside the UN. There is also a possibility that the State Department may get around to asking for a modification of the Charter's veto provisions. The importance of the last week's reminders of direct diplomatic action by Washington is that they may be the beginning of a "hedge" against the UN in terms of US opinion, or even of a careful campaign to "unsell" the people on an instrument found incapable of effectively carrying out "Soviet containment."

The Big Blow

HOWARD HUGHES's charge that Senator Owen Brewster (R, Maine) had offered to call off the headline-grabbing Kaiser-Hughes flying-boat investigation in return for a TWA-Pan American Airlines merger, dissolved the smoke screen elaborately spread by the Senate War Investigating Committee. Ignoring the billions that the US spent for other wartime research, the committee seized on the fact that Kaiser-Hughes got $18 million for a giant experimental wooden-cargo plane, which hasn't flown yet.

Behind the talk of glamor gals and gay parties, this might have passed off as another Republican attempt to smear President Roosevelt, via Elliott. But the real issue, deeply inter-meshed with national politics, was the deadly war between Pan American and TWA.

Senator Brewster has shown consistent extra-curricular zeal for Pan American and its "chosen-instrument" thesis (a single overseas American airline) which Pan Am has been plugging in Washington lobbies. As current head of the Senate War Investigating Committee, Brewster had a publicity plum for a vice-presidential aspirant. And, as head of a Senate subcommittee on aviation, he was able to plump for the single overseas airline which would almost certainly fall in Pan Am's lap.

Brewster's penchant for Pan Am could have political rewards. A recent aviation business letter suggests that Samuel F. Pryor Jr., Pan Am's vice-president and Republican national committeeman from Connecticut, would boost Brewster for vice president. Another Brewster friend is John Wesley Hanes, a J. P. Morgan partner and former Undersecretary of the Treasury under Roosevelt, who has turned Republican and is a director of Pan Am. Brewster also is no stranger to Juan Trippe, Pan Am's president. He once took time out to fly down to North Carolina in a Trippe plane to lobby old Senator Josiah W. Bailey (D, N. C.) for a bill Trippe wanted. Nowadays, Brewster plays his Pan Am cards much closer to his chest.

Historically, the GOP support for Pan Am is clear: the airline started some 20 years ago with the blessing of Republican first families like the Mellons, the Cornelius Vanderbilt Whitneys and Walter Brown, then chairman of the Republican national committee and campaign manager for Herbert Hoover. However, one leading Democrat has also sided with the airline on today's Senate floor: Pat McCarran (D, Nev.).

Working the Democratic side of the street is the younger Trans World Airline. Howard Hughes, its major stockholder, has the support of Elliott Roosevelt, Governor Mon C. Wallgren of Washington, and Secretary of the Interior Cap Krug. It was in 1940 that TWA got a CAB certificate to fly to Europe, and thus edged into Pan Am's exclusive overseas field.

So there was every reason, last February, for Pan Am to broach a merger with TWA. What cheaper, quicker way to achieve a domestic-airlines franchise? Trippe had hopefully put in for a domestic license, claiming Pan Am's

It's an Ill Wind . . .

AS THE tar flew thicker and faster on Capitol Hill between TWA and Pan-American, witnesses were rushed in by air, from all over the world. American Airlines, United and Eastern just put the money in their pockets and went about their work, whistling.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

potentialities overseas were being "diluted" by other American companies. Here was a tailor-made domestic line, complete with overseas connections. And Trippe might have moved in at a time when TWA was financially shaky, after Hughes had split with Jack Frye. But Hughes said no.

Senator Claude D. Pepper (D, Fla.) quietly elicited from each general, plane manufacturer or engineer who testified, the fact that never was there any indication of intent to defraud the government by Kaiser or Hughes. And only Senator Pepper showed interest in what promised to be too touchy a story for the committee to handle or the press to report: Henry Kaiser's charge that the country is strapped for steel by the monopolistic conspiracy of the biggest steel companies.

The High Cost of Money

THE Rumanian National Bank has stopped issuing 2,000-lei notes which had been used chiefly for small change in petty transactions such as paying streetcar fares. An economist of the bank discovered that the cost of printing a 2,000-lei note was 3,500 lei.

Meat and the Gravy

IT was just over a year ago that full control of meat prices came to an end. The year's record, in case you can't believe your account book, is this: 1935-1939 average meat prices, 100; June, 1946, the last fully controlled month, 134; March, 1947, 207.6; June, 1947, 216.9 and still rising.

The farmer and the retailer have been getting their share but the really juicy profits are going to four firms, Cudahy, Wilson, Swift and Armour, the Chicago packers. Since June, 1946, the farmer's price for his steers at Chicago has gone up 52 percent; the retailer's price has gone up 76 percent, and the packer's price has gone up 95 percent. The local butcher has been cutting down *his* margin of profit.

Messrs. Cudahy, Wilson, Swift and Armour, unlike almost all other US corporations, have refrained from issuing any first half of 1947 profit figures. With only half of 1946 decontrolled, Armour bettered its 1945 profits by 230 percent, Swift by 33 percent, Wilson by 66 percent, and Cudahy by 170 percent. Cudahy's stock dividend was up another third in the first quarter of 1947, and an extra dividend of 40 cents per share was declared. Wilson and Swift have upped dividends substantially, and Armour anticipates a dividend on the common stock for the first time since the first World War.

Racket-proof Radio

A NEW kind of radio set, which can be repaired at home by the least mechanically-minded user and hence is immune to the pocket-draining tricks of radio-tube racketeers, has been invented by a 29-year-old electronics engineer, Roberto Brenta. In this set the basic electric circuits are enclosed in small removable containers, replaceable at $1.98. When anything goes wrong with the set, a simple Brenta chart tells the user exactly which circuit needs a new container and the repair

Behind the New Trade Pacts

by Alexander Kendrick

MOSCOW (by wireless).—Under their new economic agreement the Soviet Union has granted credits, equipment and technical assistance for the industrialization of Yugoslavia. Among the beneficiaries will be the Yugoslav metals, oil, chemical and timber industries. Many of the raw materials which these industries will process are being supplied by the Soviet Union under supplementary trade pacts. The USSR has also granted credits to Albania to take a first step toward its industrialization. The Soviet loans are based on the requirements of the new Yugoslav Five-Year Plan and of the projected Albanian Five-Year Plan which Premier Hoxha has promised.

The industrialization of Yugoslavia might have been attempted with credits from the West. The fact that Yugoslavia operates under a system of state planning probably was not in itself the dominant consideration in the US failure to give such assistance. After all, Britain, France—indeed most of the western nations—also operate under variants of an economic thought rooted in state planning (see page 16).

It is apparent that political considerations dictated what amounted to severance of US economic relations with the Yugoslavs. The US, no more interested in the industrialization of Yugoslavia than in that of Latin America, would prefer the prewar system of capital investment in and ownership of Yugoslav mines and factories which have now been nationalized.

Former Undersecretary of State Dean Acheson, made it clear in his testimony on the foreign-aid program, that the prevailing concept of the productive power of Eastern Europe is still in terms of agriculture and that the area's most becoming role was that of a market for the industrial products of the West. The retiring Undersecretary complained of the fact that Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Rumania were no longer exporting food and sought to place the blame on their economic arrangements with the Soviet Union.

From the point of view of much of Eastern Europe, the hope of industrialization, a better balance between industry and agriculture, and more production for use, make more sense than a plan that would continue Eastern Europe as a sort of agrarian Hooverville. From the US point of view, however, the new economic arrangements change the classic export picture by reducing Eastern Europe's dependence on the industries of the West.

THE Soviet-Yugoslav agreement follows other agreements with Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Hungary, all of them based on Soviet raw materials. But they also provide for the delivery of some Soviet industrial goods such as tractors and automobiles, which is something new.

The main purpose of the new Soviet agreements with her neighbors is to supply the requirements of their respective state plans. If this is a revolution, it is largely an industrial revolution and once there was a time when the West was not afraid of it.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

can be made without resort to an expert. Brenta plans to manufacture them at the rate of 1,000 a day, each to retail at $20.

The new sets' greatest virtue, Brenta says, will be in saving radio users from unscrupulous repair men who make gross overcharges for simple repairs and flourish on such crooked tricks as replacing good tubes with bad ones during "expert" diagnoses of radios which have gone out of working order.

Trial and Error

WHEN a Roanoke, Virginia, jury decreed that a Negro minister, the Reverend William James Simmons, had suffered no damage as a result of being ordered out of his seat on an Atlantic Greyhound bus, US District Court Judge John Paul refused to accept the verdict.

Paul ordered the jurors to go out again and think it over. The panel returned the second time with a $25 judgment for the pastor.

Forecast: Variable

PRACTITIONERS of the inexact science of economics have learned, like the weather man, to play cagey, to assess the factors involved, and then say that, if nothing unforeseen happens, it may be a sunny day tomorrow. What has kept the economic clime fair and ever warmer so far has been a series of highs—high savings, high wages, high employment, high exports. So long as all these things stay up, all is well. But some lows are coming into sight.

The chief trouble, of course, is prices. Business and industry have taken advantage of the reservoir of savings and consumer demand to charge what the traffic will bear. The result, according to reports just completed by the President's Council of Economic Advisers and the Federal Reserve Board:

¶ Real income is going down.

¶ So are savings.

¶ The rich are getting richer, the poor poorer; *i. e.*, purchasing power is being concentrated in fewer and fewer hands.

¶ Consumer credit and installment buying are going up.

There are other ominous warnings:

¶ Foreign buying went down 13 percent in June, the first drop in a long time.

¶ The greatest unfulfilled demand is for housing. The getting-richer few are building houses at such a rate (700,000 a year) that the industry is not a drag on the economy. But prices are so high that housing, which benefits many fields, cannot be the cushion it should be if things start to break.

¶ Prices are still going up and individual spending from current income is as high as it can be expected to go (93 percent).

Some compensating factors, however, will help postpone trouble:

¶ Demand is still high for all kinds of durable goods, and production of them is holding up.

¶ There are still a lot of savings, three or four times the amount of prewar. The 23-million families who constitute the lower half of the income scale have less than one fourth of the savings left, but they still have $30 billion.

¶ Consumer credit and installment buying, while rising rapidly, are still not at dangerous heights.

¶ Exports, running currently at a rate of some $16 billion a year, will drop, but if the Marshall Plan is to be implemented on anything like the scale required (and foreseen by realists here) it will continue at a good rate for some time.

¶ The psychological factor. Dun and Bradstreet made a survey of businessmen for the Joint Committee on the Economic Report. The consensus: a leveling off in the last half of 1947; in some cases a tapering off. In other words there is not yet a tendency to dive for the storm cellar at the first rumble of thunder.

Thus the factors that made the current boom have lost their dynamic élan, but they are still present and pushing. So here we teeter for the moment, on a pinnacle of unprecedented well-being.

It is difficult to believe that a GOP Congress will stop the transfer of the purchasing power from the many to the few, keep real wages at least level, get prices on housing down to provide a solid basis for continuing construction, get food prices down so that people can buy durable goods, and provide liberally for foreign lands as an immediate cushion and an investment in future foreign trade. But if they don't, it might be harder for them to get reëlected in 1948.

S. F. Labor Unites

SAN FRANCISCO—Members of the Central Labor Council (AFL) have made an important decision that may affect the outcome of the city's municipal elections next November. In a meeting marked by a great deal of shouting, the council elected to dump an old taboo by the wayside and join the CIO in concerted political action. The move ends nearly a decade of bitter local enmity between the two groups.

Specifically the AFL council voted to throw its official support behind a joint AFL-CIO committee which was formed shortly after Mayor Roger D. Lapham signed a new city one-half percent sales tax. Although the primary purpose of the 12-man committee (six CIO and six AFL members) is to knock the tax off the books, the coalition does not expect to stop there.

Impressed by the example of organized labor in Oakland, where a joint AFL-CIO drive succeeded in electing four pro-labor city councilmen, the San Francisco committee intends to enter the city elections. Co-chairman Jack Shelley, a former state senator, has promised that his committee will endorse a slate of candidates. Mentioned as possibilities for the labor mayoralty candidacy are Representative Franck Havenner, (D, Calif.) and writer Bartley C. Crum.

Should the AFL-CIO committee nominee be elected, it would be the first time since 1911 that a labor man has headed San Francisco's city administration.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Taft Starts the Long Plod Home

by Helen Fuller

ROBERT ALPHONSO TAFT'S campaign plans are all in a row. He carries a "How-to-become-a-President" blueprint in his pocket, and he knows exactly what he must do and when to meet its specifications. He has every confidence in this blueprint because he and his careful, conscientious advisers made it themselves, out of the shrewdness and experience Bob Taft has piled up in 11 years of ceaseless plodding toward the presidential goal. Tired as he was after seven months of running the Senate, Taft kept on schedule, successfully supervised the unveiling of Taft the Candidate at Columbus, Ohio, last week and delivered his first platform speech before stopping for breath.

Now the timetable calls for time out to dream—in the Quebec woods. And not even the pictures of the tired-but-happy Deweys returning home from their tours upset the Senator seriously, for he rests serene in his plans.

Over the Dewey trail

In September, Taft moves West along the Dewey trail for speeches in Wyoming, Idaho, Nevada, California, and on into Oregon and Washington. October is allotted to winning the Midwest, with appearances in Des Moines, Cleveland and Chicago already set. November is the time set for attacking the Dewey strongholds in the East. Everywhere the strategy will be to tie up delegates for Taft in every state possible, to help "favorite sons" tie up the delegations for themselves in states where Taft cannot hope to control, and to organize an unbreakable bloc to "Stop Dewey." Taft's chances hinge on preventing Dewey's nomination on the first few ballots and on holding his own delegates absolutely solid for as many more ballots as are required to win over Dewey and enough "favorite-son" delegates to total 547 votes for himself. The Taft tour will conduct its own loyalty tests as it goes and will class supporters according to their apparent staying power.

Candidate Taft had long since recognized that to know him is not necessarily to love him, and his public-relations campaign will be built around more practical approaches. William McAdams, a high-powered public relations counsel and former Cleveland newspaperman, has been handling this phase of the Taft campaign from a Washington office for several months now and will continue to handle it when Taft goes on the road. Money hasn't been a problem in the Taft family for some years now, so there is no worry about where McAdam's salary is coming from or how to get large campaign contributions early. Not even Dewey is better off than Taft in this respect.

The Big Three

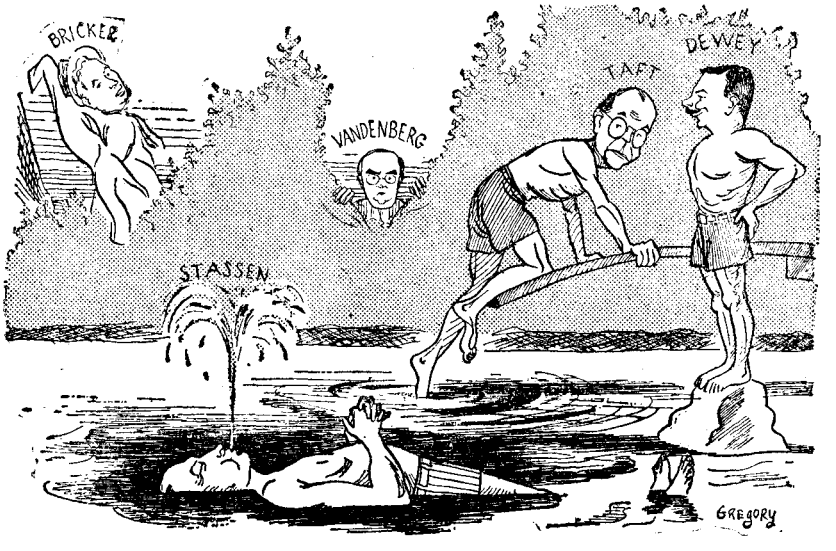
Representative Clarence J. Brown (R, Ohio), one of the shrewdest political operators in the Republican Party, is slated to be Taft's campaign manager. Brown will make the deals inside the party, Taft will make the policy, and McAdams will try to make friends. Beyond that the organizational details of the Taft campaign have not been developed in detail. The experts say it would not be wise to do so until the situation becomes much clearer.

Taft's opening speech in Columbus served notice on the rest of the Republican candidates that he, for one, intended to make foreign policy an issue in '48. This was bad news for Vandenberg, whose political stock is now definitely tied to the fate of bipartisanship. Will Taft try to become the Republican leader on foreign as well as domestic policy in the next session of Congress, tie strong political strings on what grudging financial aid is given to Europe? It will be fortunate for Taft politically if his conscience and Colonel Bertie McCormick's editorial policy continue to follow the same path.

The Old Guard's part

Most Republicans believe that the 1948 convention will resemble the hectic 1940 convention (when Willkie was nominated on the 6th ballot) much more than it will the smooth-running Chicago convention of 1944. That, Taft thinks, is to his advantage. If Dewey is stopped, it will be by the most reactionary elements in the party, for only they are potentially strong enough to do it. Taft believes that having stopped Dewey, they would turn to him, as first choice, and would throw their votes to Eisenhower or an even darker horse only if it became clear he could not get a majority.

Perhaps Taft's greatest strength lies in the fact that he, more than any other potential candidate, represents the Republican Party as it really is today. But there is always the chance that the GOP will not want to appear in public either like itself or like Bob Taft.



SUMMER SPORTS: THE GRAND OLD SWIMMING HOLE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TWO DECADES AGO, CARTOONIST ART YOUNG FORESAW THE WORLD INTO WHICH WE ARE MOVING

The State of Civil Liberties Today

DO YOU read the *New Republic* or the *Nation?* Do you have many foreign-born friends? Do you like Henry Wallace? Do you believe in cooperatives? Have you any friends who are writers? Do you do a great deal of reading? *Don't answer yes*—that is, if you want to work for the government of the United States. These are some of the questions used to demonstrate the unfitness for civil service of men and women who work for you in government today.

Would you turn over to Representative J. Parnell Thomas (R, N. J.) and his friends the names and addresses of underground fighters in Franco's Spain? *Don't answer no*—that is, unless you want to go to jail.

If you answer as we would, don't feel lonely. Today Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln could be fired from government service as dangerous and disloyal. Today they, who challenged arbitrary power in government, might well be in jail.

All of the names on our cover this week are a little subversive today. They are men who affirmed the right to disagree, helping to win and keep the freedom expressed in the First Amendment to our Constitution. It reads:

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances."

It took hard work to win and keep the Bill of Rights.

There were the witch hunts, the Alien and Sedition Acts, the evils of slavery, the criminal syndicalism laws, the loyalty oaths, the Palmer raids that threatened our spirit and the institutions built upon it. But there were men like Jefferson and Madison, Lovejoy and Wendell Phillips, Lincoln and Beecher, Brandeis and Holmes, Walsh and Darrow, who held America to its essential purpose. Each time it took courage to carry America out of moments of doubt, of fear, and therefore of danger. We found the courage.

The fabric of civil liberty in America, if torn in one place is weakened everywhere. It is being torn today. That means your civil liberties are in danger—far greater danger than during the years of intolerance that followed the last war. This is intolerance of a prewar, not a postwar kind.

One group leading the spirit of bigotry and intolerance that threatens you is the House Committee on Un-American Activities. This committee has attacked the basic rights of all Americans.

The resolution creating the committee was probably unconstitutional. Its terms "subversive" and "un-American" were never defined. Its scope exceeded the power of Congress to investigate. Its only justification was to aid Congress in preparing legislation, and the only legislation that could emerge from the committee—to abridge free-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dom of political expression—was clearly in direct violation of the First Amendment.

That is why in the nine years of its life the committee has prepared no workable legislation at all. The Constitution has barred its desired action. So the committee has advanced along other lines. With the aid of the press, it has tried to accomplish by publicity what it could not accomplish by law.

Thomas Jefferson spoke out:

"If there be any among us who wish to dissolve this Union or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed, as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it."

Today, in the extreme tension of a divided world, nine years of smears, innuendos, threats and intimidations are yielding results. Blacklists of progressives, made up by the committee, are circulated among employers. Fourteen men have been sentenced to jail.

These sentences do not come as penalties for un-American or subversive activities. In most cases they follow the misuse of the power given by subpoenas to question witnesses and demand surrender of books and records "pertinent to the matter under inquiry." This club of criminal persecution and penalties is held by a committee whose members have a vague and varied conception of what is un-American or subversive. Lacking any power other than the subpoena, they seek by threats, insults and intimidation to force their witnesses into violation of the terms of this broadly interpreted power.

"You know," said Representative John D. Rankin (D, Miss.), one commitee member, to a witness, Dr. Jacob Auslander, "you are in danger of losing your citizenship." To another he added, "You are rubbing your nose right up against the penitentiary door." Three other witnesses have had their testimony torn from their hands. The chairman, J. Parnell Thomas, has added that lawyers assisting accused persons should be indicted.

Two federal judges, Alexander Holtzoff and Raymond Keech, have upheld the committee's procedure. The federal government, abdicating its role of protecting civil servants, has fired hundreds without trial or with inadequate hearings. Careful investigation by the *New Republic* indicates that 50 percent of those who were dismissed have been Jewish or married to Jews. Fifteen percent have been dismissed from jobs earning $6,000 or more. Fifty percent have been clerical or administrative personnel. These dismissals have been mainly from the State and War Departments, but larger and more alarming dismissals are about to take place. They are all carried out in secrecy. But well known attorneys have moved to defend these civil servants, and as a result some departments have tried to justify the dismissals on grounds of morals and petty larceny, on absurd charges of using government stationery and stamps.

Your civil rights are threatened today. That is evident also in the following sample checkup by *New Republic* correspondents.

The South

by Gould Beech

REACTIONARIES in the South are in a frenzy to find new and fancier ways to attack labor unions, Negroes and "Communists."

Most of the southern states have now passed anti-closed-shop or "right-to-work" bills. The number includes Tennessee, Georgia, North Carolina, Virginia, Arkansas, Florida, Alabama and Texas. The Texas legislature passed eight anti-labor bills. Of these, the Texas Manufacturers' Association said: "The legislature's action has answered . . . the aims of this organization."

Reactionaries, seeking a way completely to disenfranchise Negro voters, thought that South Carolina had found the answer. The hoped-for solution consisted of legislative action to eliminate any legal mention of primaries or political parties. The Democratic Party was to become a private club privileged to exclude membership on any basis, including pigmentation, of course. But Judge J. Waties Waring, native Charlestonian and Judge of the Federal District Court of eastern South Carolina, dashed that hope with a decision declaring such action unconstitutional. Political parties and primary elections were, he ruled, an essential part of the democratic process. He called on South Carolina to "rejoin the Union and accept the democratic processes."

Previously, Governor Thompson of Georgia vetoed the Talmadge-sponsored White Primary Bill, that would have made any Georgia Governor's hand-picked Democratic executive committee free to control all primary elections without legal restraint.

In Florida, a white primary bill was defeated in the state senate, 30 to four. This action followed a statewide mass meeting sponsored by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, one of the first direct-action protests of its kind ever conducted in the South.

Mississippi, meanwhile, was trying out a new formula. The State Democratic Executive Committee set up a criteria of "principles" which any person seeking to vote in a Democratic primary must adhere to. The criteria included opposition to the repeal of the Poll Tax, opposition to an FEPC, opposition to federal anti-lynching legislation, adherence to "the traditional Democratic Party principles as established by Jefferson, Jackson, Cleveland and Wilson." Franklin D. Roosevelt was not included in the list.

And Henry Ward Beecher:

"There is tonic in the things that men do not love to hear; and there is damnation in the things that wicked men love to hear. Free speech is to a great people what winds are to oceans and malarial regions, which waft away the elements of disease and bring new elements of health; and where free speech is stopped, miasma is bred and death comes fast."

The first act of the Arkansas Legislature was to repeal its own copy-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

righted effort at Negro disenfranchisement. The state had found unworkable a system setting up separate criteria and registration for voting in primaries and general elections.

Southern reactionaries had had great difficulty in getting up much anti-Communist steam due to the dearth of party members in the South. The House Un-American Committee solved this dilemma partially, by pinning the label of Communist on the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, because of associations with associates of suspected associates of organizations which had been previously charged by the Dies Committee, etc.

Legislators in several states have been chewing pencils trying to write a bill aimed at this menace. What they have ended up with in North Carolina and Texas, is a rewrite of the traditional laws or constitutional prohibitions against incitement to insurrection or armed overthrow of the government. The press and supporters of such bills in North Carolina and Alabama always refer to these measures as anti-Communist bills.

Everywhere the reactionaries are having a field day and are feeling more arrogant than ever before. No luncheon club or state convention is complete without its dire warnings of the danger of Communism. In Birmingham, Judge Hugh Locke, one-time political figure in the heyday of the Klan, warned that Birmingham was the southern center of Communism and said that he had even heard Communist doctrines preached in the Methodist Church.

And Charles Evans Hughes:

"Our institutions were not devised to bring about uniformity of opinion; if they had been we might well abandon hope. . . . The essential characteristic of true liberty is that under its shelter many different types of opinion and belief can develop unmolested and unobstructed."

All over the south, industrialists, especially those in small towns, are impatient to learn whether the Taft-Hartley Bill makes it possible for them to return to the traditional strong-arm methods of dealing with labor unions. For the less brutal, there is also the prospect of getting weak and financially distressed unions tied up in endless legal procedures.

In Mississippi, a young newspaper editor signed a petition calling on the US Senate to investigate the circumstances of Senator Bilbo's election. Shortly afterward, his neighbors were being visited by FBI agents who had been given the list of signers as suspected Communists.

In Alabama, Bishop Toolen, of the Mobile Diocese, reinstated the Reverend William J. Terminello, who had been relieved of his assignment a year ago, following national notoriety as a colleague of Gerald L. K. Smith and the Reynolds school of anti-Semitism.

But Gerald L. K. Smith himself has written off the south. He first selected Douglas, Georgia, as the beginning of a revival of his movement in the south and advertised a mass meeting to be attended by 25,000 people. Only 68 showed up. Again he sought to light the torch at Winfield, Louisiana, the home town of Huey Long, and that was a fizzle too.

Smith's experience confirms an observation of many southerners. The great mass of people in the south are not behind the current wave of reaction. It is being run by a few reactionary leaders who have little rank-and-file support.

Michigan

by Andrew A. Bishop

IN the past year, civil liberties in Michigan have been dealt their severest blow since the "Palmer raids" period immediately after World War I.

Ambitious, swashbuckling Governor Kim Sigler, who gained office through the headlines he created as a Grand Jury Prosecutor, has whipped up reckless charges of Communism against widespread liberal and progressive organizations here. A subservient Republican legislature, boasting only four Democratic Senators and seven Representatives, coöperated by enacting three pieces of punitive legislation aimed at civil liberties—the Callahan Act, the Hutchinson Act and the Omnibus Anti-Labor Act.

One of Sigler's first acts on assuming office, was to hurl charges of Communism against chapters of the American Youth for Democracy at the University of Michigan, Michigan State College and Wayne University. The state senate quickly formed the Callahan "Little Dies" committee with broad powers to investigate Communism in Michigan. The AYD is now banned from these three campuses. A hastily formed Committee for Academic Freedom including the well known Dr. Preston Slossom, radio commentator, spoke out strongly on the issue, but vainly.

And Abraham Lincoln:

"Our reliance is in the love of liberty which God has planted in our bosoms. Our defense is in the preservation of the spirit which prizes liberty as the heritage of all men, in all lands everywhere. *Destroy this spirit and you have planted the seeds of despotism around your own doors. Familiarize yourself with the chains of bondage, and you are preparing your own limbs to wear them."*

Meanwhile the state supreme court (Republican) kept the party record straight against civil liberties by throwing out, on a technicality, a petition of 200,000 signatures to put an FEPC referendum on the state ballot. In case the FEPC petition should have won approval from the supreme court, large manufacturers and retailers were ready with a highly financed and ironically titled "Committee for Tolerance" to fight the referendum, county by county.

The most vicious piece of anti-democratic legislation passed has been the Callahan Act. To avoid any possibility of the act getting to the voters during the usual 90 days of grace allowed for a referendum, the act was shoved through as an "emergency" measure, to take effect immediately.

The act requires all "foreign agents" to register, gives the state the power

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to delve into the activities of all organizations, access to their books, membership and financial records; all "propaganda" must bear the statement that it complies with the state law regulating "foreign agents." A foreign agency is defined as any individual or group of individuals serving directly or indirectly, "the purposes, aims or objects of a foreign power."

Thus, a one-man dictatorship is set up, whereby the attorney general, who is given administration of the act, can on his own initiative declare any fraternal society, foreign-language group, church, trade union or political party subversive. Violations of the act can be punished by fines up to $5,000, five years in prison or both. Aid of the FBI has been enlisted in enforcing the act.

The Hutchinson Act is another GOP special. It prohibits strikes by all public employees. Violations can result not only in loss of employment, but pension and retirement rights as well. Unlike similar acts passed in several states, this law provides fines up to $1,000 and imprisonment up to one year, for those influencing public employees to strike.

And Oliver Wendell Holmes:

"The best test of truth is the power of the thought to get itself accepted in the competition of the market . . . we should be eternally vigilant against attempts to check the expression of ideas that we loathe."

The Omnibus Anti-Labor Act prohibits strikes unless mediation has failed and the strike is approved by vote of a majority of the workers involved. It prohibits mass picketing, picketing by other than striking employees, and compulsory arbitration of disputes in public utilities.

In the field of racial civil liberties, the housing shortage has particularly hit the Negro population in Detroit, which has increased from 200,000, in 1941, to an estimated 300,000. The biggest obstacle to housing for the Negroes has been the restrictive covenants, operative in 90 percent of Detroit and its suburbs, in which the property owner agrees to sell his property only to "members of the Caucasian race." The state supreme court handed down a decision this spring that such restrictive covenants were legal.

And Wendell Phillips:

"No matter whose the lips that would speak, they must be free and ungagged. The community which does not protect its humblest and most hated member in the free utterance of his opinions, no matter how false or hateful, is only a gang of slaves."

A hopeful sign of a changing atmosphere in the liberal camp is the recent reorganization of the Committee to Repeal the Callahan Act, with offices at 2618 Barlum Tower, Detroit. A broad statewide committee is being set up which is representative of all shades of progressive thought in educational, religious, racial, foreign-language and union circles.

California

by Robin Kinkead

THE noisiest big gun in the current attack on civil liberties in California is Jack Tenney, Republican state senator from Los Angeles, who once waved a baton over a dance band in a Mexican border honkey-tonk called "The Owl."

Only one of the eight bills he introduced passed the state legislature, and that one in a watered-down version. But the offensive he and others like him have been stepping up recently, has been marked by efforts at "thought control" among public servants, school teachers and trade unionists; by larger numbers of civil-rights cases involving racial discrimination; by increasing economic pressure on minorities and by raids on allegedly seditious school text books.

In the person of Tenney, who runs the legislature's un-American activities committee as a one-man show, California has the nation's biggest little Dies Committee. The former song writer, who has never lost his taste for publicity, reached a new high in showmanship when he charged down on the placid community of Chico in the upper Sacramento Valley and held, single-handed, hearings on a high-school text book which, he said, "followed the Red line."

The book in question discussed adult responsibilities, and Tenney's complaint was: "Discussions of sex have a tendency to break down marriage and the family unit, so that the foundations can be built for the coming revolution."

Most newspapers laughed at Tenney's charges. Even conservative elements of the town complained that he was conducting a trial without a jury. But one effect of the atmosphere he created, was the removal from state arithmetic texts, of charts showing that half the families of the nation had incomes under $2,000. And the bill Tenney managed to get through the legislature gives school boards what amounts to the right to fire teachers "suspected" of subversive inclinations.

Such organizations as the Daughters and Sons of the American Revolution have played leading roles in attacks, some of them successful, on school texts. On the other hand, the state senate voted down a bill proposing a loyalty purge for state employees patterned on President Truman's executive order.

The Civil Liberties Union reports an increase in civil-rights cases among federal employees. Five are being discharged in Los Angeles. The Union also is fighting 18 cases of racial discrimination involving Negroes, mostly before the state supreme court. Negroes, the Union reports, are finding it hard to get work and are subject to greater social discrimination, even though trade unions and civic

And Louis D. Brandeis:

"An intolerant majority, swayed by passion or by fear, may be prone . . . to stamp as disloyal opinions with which it disagrees. Committees such as these, besides abridging freedom of speech, threaten freedom of thought and of belief."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

groups are making progress in fighting such tendencies. A current struggle is taking place, in the rich, swanky, peninsula district below San Francisco, against proposals to forbid residence to all non-whites.

Antagonism, though less than in prewar days, persists against Japanese-Americans. Some of the 90,000 who returned from relocation camps are having trouble getting jobs. Many have been forced to accept down-grading. Although new civic groups and the sensible attitude of a large part of the press and public opinion have helped matters, problems of minorities —Negroes, Hindus and other Asiatics—remain.

The Attack on Human Rights

by Henry Wallace

THE hue and cry being raised by American politicians and newspapers about the suppression of civil liberties abroad suggests a desire to create a crusading spirit as a preparation for war. At a later date, in the *New Republic,* we shall survey the state of civil liberties around the world, but at the moment it is of vital importance that we Americans glance in the mirror and examine the state of civil liberties here at home.

Unless they are stopped, the present methods of fighting communism and socialism by whipping up hysteria and invoking systems of thought control will give us a police state here. We cannot preserve and improve our system of democratic capitalism by undermining our high standard for human rights and civil liberties.

We have believed throughout our history in leaving the greatest power possible to the individual and to local governments. But the amendments to the Constitution—the Bill of Rights and the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments—and the legislative acts which were designed to protect human rights, have largely fallen into disuse so far as the individual is concerned and have been used more and more by great corporations as a device to escape government regulation. The sad result is that the US is becoming more and more a government of, by and for these great corporations.

Human rights are more in peril in the United States today than at any time since the Civil War. Illustrations could be provided in shocking quantity, but I shall use only a typical few:

A young veteran has lost his job as a chemical engineer because his boss found a copy of one of my speeches on the young man's desk. He asked his employer to read the speech and reconsider his decision. The employer refused. The young man asked him whether he believed in democracy and whether he subscribed to Christian principles. The reply was: "Of course I do, but I can't stand for that kind of foolishness around here."

A government employee with a long and excellent record of service antedating New Deal days has been fired. He was told that investigators found nothing "subversive" in his record, but neither could they find —and for this he was discharged—any record of his having criticized the Soviet Union.

Another government worker has received a letter notifying him that he is being discharged. It states in the first paragraph that the reasons for dismissal are confidential. In the second paragraph it advises him that he is given five days to answer the charges which they won't disclose.

Instances of this sort in both private business and government will no doubt be multiplied a thousandfold during the next year. The President has been given $11 million by Congress to apply his "loyalty" order to two million people. The Taft-Hartley Act and the repressive legislation concocted by some state legislatures, such as the Callahan bill in Michigan, give new weapons to private employers to infringe civil liberties.

The loyalty order is the domestic equivalent of the Truman Doctrine. Both are designed to stop communism; yet neither will succeed in that purpose without negating democracy.

The common sense of the situation is that under the banner of "Hate Communism," federal agencies hold the power of economic life or death over every individual who works for the government. Either the President will rewrite his order or certain of the zealous federal agencies will inevitably visit upon their innocent and hapless victims the modern equivalent of the bills of attainder—bills directed against particular individuals —which our revolutionary ancestors so justly fought.

THE one hope of such victims for justice—belated and costly justice—remains in the Supreme Court, which last year made a gloriously unanimous decision in the Lovett case, saying:

"When the Constitution and Bill of Rights were written, our ancestors had ample reason to know that legislative trials and punishments were too dangerous to liberty to exist in the nation of free men they en-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

visioned. And so they proscribed bills of attainder."

Here we have a terrific indictment of the Thomas Un-American Activities Committee. This committee, which has used many un-American witnesses in its fear-breeding campaign, has succeeded in getting fine citizens sentenced to jail on the technical grounds that they failed to reveal certain records. Disclosure of the records would have enabled the committee to slander and defame those who fought Franco at a time when many Americans thought it was patriotic to be friendly to Mussolini and Hitler. Such disclosure might also have made public the names of anti-fascists in Spain and other countries, and subjected them to possible imprisonment, torture or death. Though I respect Congress as a democratic institution, I have only contempt for the Thomas Committee and its predecessors.

I met I. F. Stone of *PM* the other night and talked to him about the splendid piece he wrote for the *Nation* on the Marzani case. Marzani served his country well during the war. There is every reason to believe that the government knew as much about him as a government employee during the war as it did a year later when it put him in jail. He had already resigned and left his government post when he was "fired" and indicted under a statute designed to protect the government from war-contract frauds, yet the accompanying headlines gave the impression Marzani was in a position to sabotage our government.

THE time has come to strike back in the spirit of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison when they led the people against the Federalists who were trying to use the Alien and Sedition Acts to get us into war with Jacobin France. The time has come to strike back in the spirit of 1920, when Felix Frankfurter, Roscoe Pound and 10 other distinguished lawyers spoke out against the Red hysteria whipped up by the Department of Justice.

Too many liberals have already had their characters assassinated and their economic prospects ruined by slanders uttered under congressional immunity, and by congressionally inspired Red-baiting in the executive departments. Some congressmen, with their cloaks of immunity, play with the reactionary press to float stories it would never dare to bring out by itself. They look on election to Congress as a license to slander.

The complete immunity of a congressman is illustrated by the case of Martin Dies and David Vaughn, who worked for me when I headed the Board of Economic Warfare. Forgetting to take the usual precaution of making his statement on the floor or in committee, Dies blasted Vaughn without consulting Vaughn or me. It turned out to be a case of mistaken identity and Vaughn went to court. Dies apologized and paid Vaughn legal costs of $611. Congress, forgiving Dies his neglect and his error, proceeded to reimburse him.

The most heartbreaking failures to provide "equal justice under law" involve cases of our Negro citizens. Time after time Negroes are killed and the murderers are allowed to go scot-free. Every case of this sort, whether it be in Monroe, Georgia, or Greenville, South Carolina, receives worldwide notoriety.

Walter White in the New York *Herald Tribune* recently presented a most thoughtful analysis and reached the conclusion that "the only hope to meet situations like the one at the Brunswick prison camp is strong, federal, civil-rights legislation which will stimulate inactive state responsibility and which will give the federal government power to move in when states willfully fail, refuse or neglect to see that the law is enforced for all its citizens."

The Republican Congress, if it will, can pass not only the legislation asked for by Walter White, but also legislation to abolish the poll tax. Until we take action of this sort, the greater part of Europe will rightfully question the sincerity of our interest in civil rights.

We can still point with pride to the record of our Supreme Court in upholding fundamental principles and hope that it will not be disturbed by the present hysteria. In an important decision in 1943, the Court said: "If there is any fixed star in our constitutional constellation, it is that no official, high or petty, can prescribe what shall be orthodox in politics, nationalism, religion, or other matters of opinion, or force citizens to confess by word or act their faith therein."

In the case of the California Communist, William Schneiderman, which Willkie argued before the Supreme Court, the decision found that there was no danger to our institutions from having the Communists advocate nationalization of the means of production and the expropriation of property without compensation. The Court said citation by the government of historical Marxist documents did not prove the present intent of Communists to overthrow our government by force and violence.

IN these and other decisions like them, I find reason to believe that the Supreme Court would find unconstitutional the President's loyalty order and its legislative counterpart, the Rees bill, passed by the House. Such a prospect, as little as it may comfort present victims, maintains my hope that we shall return to an atmosphere in which we can save democratic capitalism by protecting and extending human rights, by getting rid of depressions and by learning to live at peace with Russia.

H. W.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Let's Face It, Mr. Marshall

Often our government, in trying to recreate Europe's productive powers, seems to be seeking to restore private enterprise in its prewar forms. But, for Europe socialism has come to stay. Here, in reports from France, England, Italy, Sweden and Czechoslovakia, is the story of how without violence the people of Europe are building a new way of life.

France

PARIS (by cable).—Nearly two-thirds of the French people, the most individualistic citizens on earth, passionately approved the sweeping program of nationalization pushed through in the tumultuous days after their liberation. Today most of the people still believe government control of basic industries is an absolute necessity.

Angered by the big industrialists, appeasement and collaboration with the Nazis, the French insisted on giant strides toward state ownership in 1944 and 1945. Only 19 percent of the French, according to five polls of the French Institute of Public Opinion, opposed the program. Cabinets of every political shade have acted on this knowledge.

In the mines, Communist-led workers permitted no alternative. For businesses abandoned by frightened collaborator-owners, nationalization was often the simplest procedure. Headed by the moderate Georges Bidault, the National Council of Resistance promised on March 15, 1944, to return to the nation the great means of production, the sources of mineral wealth and the massed capital of the Banque de France. The promise was largely fulfilled.

Eighty percent of the aviation industry, partially controlled since 1936, was nationalized in May, 1945. In gradual succession followed the Banque de France, five huge deposit banks, gas and electric utilities, the Mines du Nord and Pas de Calais, and the national insurance companies.

The Banque de France and the large business banks were taken over in order that the government might control the extension of credit. The prewar Banque could and did cause the fall of cabinets by withholding critical credit. Directors of national insurance companies also played politics with their considerable capital. So insurance was nationalized.

Operations of the nationalized mines and the gas and electric utilities are savagely criticized by the Right. In defense, the mine administrators send up a barrage of facts. They say that production in 1947 is 16 percent higher than in 1938 (the last prewar year), despite old worn-out equipment and new, untrained workers. They point out that 50 percent more workers have entered the mines, attracted by improved working conditions. They add that a ton of French coal, including the government subsidy and compensation for former owners, costs less than one-third as much as a ton of imported coal. And they assert that miners will not work for private owners, and France must have coal.

Reluctantly the government admits deficits in the operation of electric plants, but administrators claim a 50-percent increase in production over 1938 and a 40-percent increase in consumption. Nineteen new hydro-electric power stations have been created since 1946. The government emphasizes that the cost of electricity has risen only four times compared with 1938 figures, while the general cost of living has increased almost nine times and wages six times.

No one is hitting the ceiling about the nationalization of Air France. Long favored by the French as an instrument of air travel, the line is meeting all international competition on even terms. But for a while everyone was up in the air about the management of the aircraft plants. The Air Minister from the liberation until 1946 was Communist Charles Tillon. In the eyes of political critics, Tillon could do nothing right. Now that he has been replaced by Radical Socialist Maroselli, the faultfinding is slowing to a stop. Most parties accept the government figures showing profits for the majority of the aircraft companies.

Seizure of the Renault auto factory was a special case. The former owner, Louis Renault, a stubborn self-made man of the Henry Ford type, welcomed the Germans into France in 1940 too openly. After Paris and the Renault plant were liberated, the plant workers demanded nationalization. As yet no one can say whether the government has administered the Renault works more or less successfully than private managers have operated fac-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tories like those of Citroen, Simca, Peugeot. Throughout the automobile industry (on the whole, privately run) there are controls over raw materials, prices and salaries.

Although recent steps have been on an unprecedented scale, French experience in nationalization goes back to the nineteenth century, when Napoleon saw a chance for revenue by monopoly rather than through taxation and took over commerce in matches and tobacco. In the same century the French nationalized their postal, telegraph and telephone services. The railroads were nationalized by Leon Blum in 1936, and have become generally accepted as a government service.

"You cannot say that the new nationalization program has proved a success or a failure yet," recently commented an important non-partisan figure in the French reconstruction. "You must give it at least five years. Nationalization psychology is a necessity. Nationalization gave the miners enthusiasm. If you say that nationalization in France is successful, you will still be challenged. If you say it is necessary, you will not be challenged."

—JOSEPH BARRY

Britain

LONDON (by cable).—It is far too early to attempt any fair appraisal of the nationalization program in Britain on the basis of its record to date, since so many of its initial difficulties are hangovers from the war and won't be solved until the whole British economy is clicking smoothly.

Among the basic industries, only the coal mines, which came under the banner of the National Coal Board on the first of the year, have had a chance to test the operation. They started under a double handicap. In addition to their wartime legacy, they also inherited antique machinery and methods from private owners who doggedly refused to plow profits back into modernized equipment. Unless sufficient coal is mined to run the power stations, and steel mills and railways keep the capital-goods industries operating, the nation can't possibly stage the major recovery for which it is now working so desperately. During the next few years, the NCB will be obliged to concentrate almost entirely on getting coal dug with what men and equipment it now has. The vital reconstruction of the industry must wait.

YET one can catch at least a small squint into the future. Despite the expanding roar for more and more coal, the NCB has agreed to a five-day week for miners while the merchants of disaster wail in the background. The Coal Board offers the usual argument that with shorter working hours the miners will be more efficient on the job and thereby stave off any lapse in total production. The miners are now demonstrating to the public that their new partnership with the NCB is a happy innovation. Production has been maintained under the shorter week.

The only other presently operating examples of nationalization fail to throw much light on the question of whether it will work in Britain. The Bank of England, nationalized last year, is carrying on in the same steady manner as always, and the Conservative Party's recent "Industrial Charter" says: "We would not repeal the whole of the Bank of England Act, but we should reëxamine the powers of the Bank to give directives to the commercial banks."

Civil Aviation, likewise nationalized since the war, proves almost nothing at the moment except that during a period of uncertainties, maladjustments and readjustments, it is possible for nationalized transport to offer adequate service in competition with private enterprise from abroad. Few air travelers these days will be kind enough to say that any airline facilities are a thing of joy, but the British Overseas Airways, the British European Airways and the British South American Airways have maintained heavy flight schedules all over the world with fair efficiency, despite the fact that much of their flying has been done in relatively old machines.

THE program ahead is heavy. Electricity and inland-transport nationalization are in the last parliamentary committee stages. By next year, power consumers will be buying from their government and domestic travelers will be able to crab at the government instead of at the Southern Railway or other lines about the gloomy, unsanitary railway stations and dirty, ancient carriages. National Health will be under the government by next July. At long last, there may be enough doctors to go around and good medical service for the country's entire population.

Iron and steel are tentatively on the nationalization schedule and chemicals seem to be another candidate, but neither has much chance for consideration this year, with the parliamentary calendar as full as it is. So we can't expect to see either industry in government hands before 1949 or 1950; and the Conservatives talk earnestly about being back in power by that time. In the dimmer distance are the motorcar industry, which is already getting advance warnings to keep its nose to the grindstone or else, and some of the distributive trades, now under close study.

The organized over-all opposition to nationalization is presented by the Conservative Party. But it is a very weak opposition. In their shilling pamphlet of policy, "The Conservative's Industrial Charter," they thunder: "We are opposed to nationalization in principle." Two sentences later they go on: "We do not believe it will be desirable to restore to private ownership the coal industry and the Bank of England." Which leaves them in substantive accord with the two major achievements of the Labor Government so far.

—ALFRED WRIGHT JR.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Italy

ROME (by cable). – Nationalization has been an accepted principle in Italy since the state took over the bankrupt, strike-ridden railroads in 1905. The Fascists used it for unlimited exploitation of the national wealth for the sole benefit of the men on top.

The legacy to the new republic is a crazy quilt of paradox—best illustrated, perhaps, by the fact that the Right, which still is Fascist in spirit, wants to abolish the Fascist structure, while the anti-Fascist Left wants to maintain and expand it.

Besides the railroads, there are only four segments of the Italian economy —communications, tobacco, salt and gambling—which are nationalized in the sense that the state both owns and operates them. But the government's subterranean controls twine about many segments of the economy.

Lacking from the start any clear, conscious objective of their own, the Fascists were pitched into nationalization by Benito Mussolini's economically insane dream of "autarchy" and by his disastrous effort to support the lira at an artificial level.

When the depression struck in 1930, Italy's banks were already staggering with bad debts and had accumulated controlling shares in scores of enterprises. The state stepped in and took over the nation's three largest banks, along with their vast industrial interests, under an administrative agency called Sofindit.

In 1933, the situation had become so complicated that the all-important IRI (*Instituto Ricostruzione Industriale*) was created to administer all of the state's interests, and, most important, to meet deficits with taxpayers' funds. The IRI gradually created subsidiary holding companies such as Finsider for iron and steel, Finmare for shipbuilding and navigation, Stet for communications and Sip for electric power. The entire structure exists today, and a proposal is under consideration to create still another subsidiary for the mechanical industries.

Postwar Italy's bookkeeping is in such bad shape that nobody knows exactly where the IRI's interests end, but the government estimates that it controls at least 50 percent of the nation's heavy industry. It owns the entire shipping and shipbuilding industries, about 75 percent of pig-iron production, 50 percent of steel production, 38 percent of mercury production and about 60 percent of all mechanical production. It owns controlling shares of such huge enterprises as the Ansaldo shipyards, the Breda munitions works, Alfa Romeo automobiles and the San Grigio iron and steel empire. And it has important blocks of shares of the Fiat automobile firm and the giant Montecatini chemical and power combine.

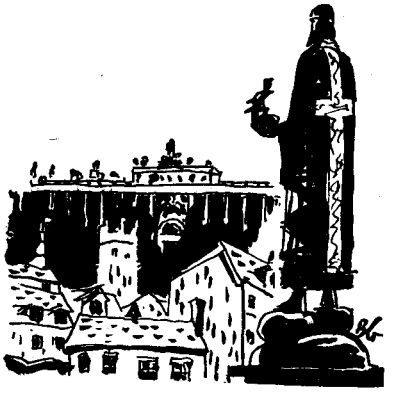
THE Fascists used the IRI principally to meet deficits and maintain war production. They seldom interfered with the individual policies of its dependent companies. The postwar, interim policy has been much the same, but in recent months the issue of the IRI's future has begun to come to a head, largely because it is costing the government enormous sums—about 40 billion lira in 1946—to keep it functioning in an inflated economy.

The Right wants to liquidate the IRI as much as possible, claiming that further indecision on the whole nationalization issue is delaying reconstruction because private capital is afraid to invest in "public-interest" enterprises.

The Left is fighting hard to preserve the IRI as it is, knowing it can be turned immediately into a Marxist instrument when the time comes. It also is exerting steady pressure for inclusion within the IRI of the remaining private power companies, municipal water, gas and transport systems, the slowly growing air-transport industry, Pirelli, the Marelli electrical-appliances empire and the Fiat and Lancia automobile concerns—all of which the Left considers "public-interest" enterprises.

—JOHN MECKLIN

Sweden



STOCKHOLM (by cable). – To many Americans, many of the measures adopted long before the advent of the present Socialist majorities in Sweden must seem extremely socialistic. The city of Stockholm, for example, has long owned much of the land within its boundaries and rents out the land to builders on 60-year leases. Government-owned businesses are of ancient vintage. Liquor and tobacco monopolies were created by non-Socialist governments for fiscal reasons. Some forest lands and water-power developments have been nationalized for decades.

In Sweden, nationalization stems from coöperative experience rather than from doctrinaire socialism. An industry considered lagging in efficiency may be goaded into action by direct government competition, or by the threat of it. Outright nationalization is the last resort.

Industries considered "inefficient" by the present political majority include the building-materials producers, the shoe manufacturers and the oil distributors. The latter two are considered oversized, and there seems to be an emotional nationalistic factor involved, because the shoemakers and the oil companies are dominated by foreign capitalistic interests.

That the Social Democratic govern-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ment meant business with regard to the oil firms was made clear by its appointment of a five-man civilian committee to study the situation. The committee, by a vote of three to two, recommended nationalization, but the country's financial condition, international political considerations and considerable opposition within Sweden herself have so far blocked any action in this field.

THE trunk railroads in Sweden have been government-owned and operated from the beginning, and the state railways have gradually been absorbing many of the small private lines. Generally this has obviously been in the public interest, but a new factor, other than a desire for efficiency, has evidently entered into the latest acquisition—the Göteborg-Dalarne-Gävle road.

This road, although only semi-private (being largely owned by the municipalities along the line), had been operated as a private company. It had not only outdistanced the government railways in operational efficiency and general service, but had been an extremely profitable undertaking. With the state railroad system running into a period of diminishing returns, what could be more opportune than to acquire a sure revenue producer like the GDG line?

The issue was in doubt for a long time, owing to uncertainty about the attitude of the Socialist majority in the Göteborg City Council, whose stock holdings constituted the controlling votes. It was believed that their local patriotism might prevail over their party allegiance, but in the end they agreed to socialization of the line.

Some of the government-owned business undertakings have never been revenue producers. The Swedish Shale Oil Company operates at a loss, which is written off in the defense budget. It is also doubtful that the costs of pig-iron production at the government's Norrbotten Ironworks at Lulea will ever enable the works to compete with private companies, particularly Domnarvet. The necessity of eliminating unemployment and the desirability of industrial diversification in the far north have contributed to the development of the ironworks, but the main factor has been the importance of Norrbotten iron for defense.

There is in any case no thought of nationalizing the Swedish iron and steel industry, or—generally speaking—any demonstrably efficient industry. This emphasis on *production* is, in fact, a commentary on the high level of Swedish labor politics. Whether the same objectivity will be shown in the future in judging nationalization necessities cannot be predicted. The Socialist Party government leaders have declared again and again that the overwhelmingly greater part of industry must remain in private hands.

—G. HOWARD SMITH

Czechoslovakia

PRAGUE (by cable).—The first three months of Czechoslovakia's Two-Year Plan saw the nationalized industries fulfilling their goals with few exceptions, despite the fact that the country suffered the worst winter in many years and was still suffering from the German exploitation of its industries.

A very careful balance had to be maintained in inter-industrial production, because overfulfillment in most of the industries would have upset the delicate raw-material balance. Only in the basic industries of coal and iron was excess production desired.

In the first quarter of 1947, the mines turned out 4,160,904 tons of black coal (7.4 percent over the goal) and 5,405,238 tons of brown coal (1.2 percent above the mark). Due to the low efficiency of the mining equipment as a result of German usage, the high production was solely the result of superhuman efforts by the miners. They worked eight-hour shifts seven days a week without rest. In the iron and steel industry, the production was 12 percent above the planned figure.

But the two industries operated at a loss financially, and in order to pull them out of the red, the Ministry of Finance is now planning the establishment of a special fund in order to equalize profits and losses in all industries. The excess profits would be taken from glass, ceramics, leather, chemicals and electricity, and distributed to coal, engineering, iron and steel. Still in the early stage, this fund is tied up with the Finance Ministry's banking-reform bill, on which the coalition government probably will not reach an agreement before fall.

All four of Czechoslovakia's political parties—the Communists and Social Democrats on the Left, and the National Socialists and Catholic People's Party on the Right—recognized the practical need for nationalization of the country's main industries after the war. Today they agree that further nationalization is unnecessary.

IN ALL her industries, heavy and light, Czechoslovakia battles with a constant problem of raw-material shortages. Government officials are admitting today that their stocks of first-class raw materials are running very low. To be able to produce, the country must have materials. To obtain them, she must export. To export, Czechoslovakia must produce. The new five-year trade pact with Russia will give the nation only approximately 50 percent of the raw materials necessary to her.

One of Czechoslovakia's worst bottlenecks exists in the textile industry. Here 28-year-old Jirina Sulc, who works at the looms in a plant in Karlovy Vary, exclaimed recently: "Cotton—we need it desperately. And we need wheat, too, I grant you. But if we could have abided by our first decision and had attended the Paris conferences on the Marshall plan, maybe we could have had both."

—PATRICIA STIER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

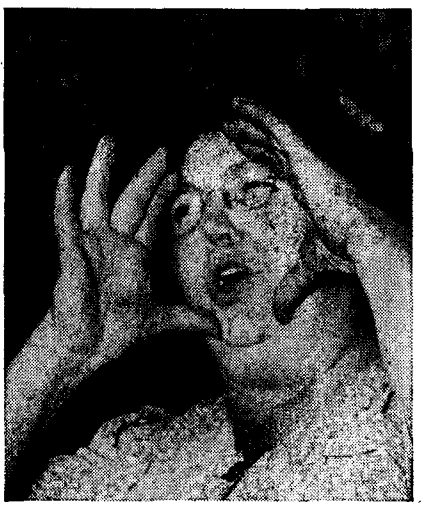
Rigney at Second for the Giants

by Frederick Freed

At 27, the Giants' second baseman stands at the top of his career; however fleeting his glory, his life is the dream of a million youngsters

WILLIAM JOSEPH RIGNEY is a man you would pass casually on the street; your eyes would not follow him. He does not look like a celebrity. Because he is able to hit, field and throw a baseball with considerable skill, he is, however, a minor hero to several million Americans.

Rigney is the regular second baseman of the New York Giants baseball club, one of the 16 teams that make up the two major leagues. At 27, in his second year as a Giant, he is near the peak of his baseball career, earning a salary treble the average of his Oakland (California) High School classmates. He has three or four good seasons left before he will begin to feel a dull ache in his legs when he tries to play every day. Then, in his early thirties, he will be an old man, athletically speaking, and it will be time to think about his father's tile business.



But now he is a big-leaguer and these are his days of glory. As a professional athlete, he occupies a niche in the public affection only slightly below that of movie stars and radio singers. Nevertheless, his daily life, except for a few hours every afternoon, is exceedingly dull. In the two years he has played for New York, Rigney has never been to Coney Island, taken a tour of Radio City or seen the Statue of Liberty. He has seldom gone to a Broadway play and has only rarely been inside a night club. "Mostly," he says, "you just move between the hotel and the ball park and then get on the train and do the same thing in some other town."

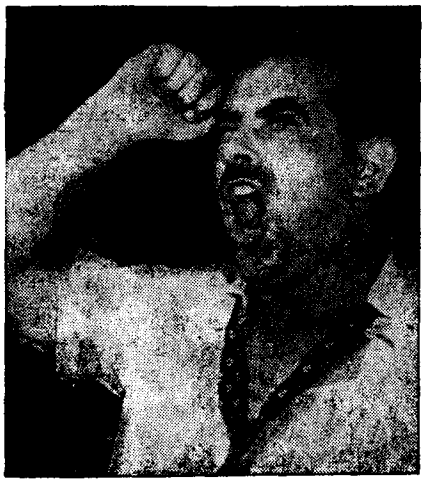
When the Giants are playing at the Polo Grounds in New York, Rigney lives alone in a $3-a-day room at the King Edward Hotel, a block from Broadway. When the Giants are "on the road"—sometimes they are away for as long as three weeks—the ball club foots the bill and Rigney rooms with first baseman Johnny Mize at the best hotel in town.

At home or on the road, Rigney gets up at 9:30 on the day of a game. He has breakfast (at a lunchroom at home; at the hotel on the road), reports to the ball park at 11:30 (by subway at home; by taxi on the road), and by six o'clock has had his shower and is eating dinner.

His evening routine is equally unvarying. He sees a movie, has a couple of beers, plays a hand of gin rummy, glances at the sports pages of the New York *Mirror* and the *Daily News* and is in bed by midnight. On days when

Frederick Freed is an associate editor of Esquire.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



there is no game, he writes his wife (who lives in Oakland with their two children) and sometimes watches the Brooklyn Dodgers by television. Rigney doesn't find baseball telecasts exciting, but he likes to see the Dodgers, the Giant's cross-town rivals, lose.

Whenever ballplayers are together, there are sure to be card games going, a few players reading comic magazines and a great deal of shop talk. Most of the players talk much as the sports writers say they do, which is probably due less to accurate reporting than to the fact that ballplayers read the sports pages. Few major-leaguers are concerned with anything outside the range of their immediate lives.

This does not mean that all ballplayers are the unsophisticated hayseeds immortalized by Ring Lardner. A modern ball team reminds you of a well knit crew on a ship or a construction gang that has worked together for a long time.

Rigney looks like a farm boy among them, his blond hair bleached by the sun, his frame angular and ungraceful, his leathered face punctuated by a mechanic's steel-rimmed glasses. But there is one way that you can pick him out for a ballplayer in a hotel lobby. To him a necktie is like white tie and tails. He wears the major-leaguer's off-stage uniform: slacks, perforated summer shoes, sports shirt open at the throat.

Even these make him uncomfortable, and the first thing he does when he arrives in the locker room before a game is to take them off. The second thing is to have a coke. Then he listens to the radio, autographs baseballs which the bat boy will sell, and shifts by easy stages into his uniform.

About two hours before game time, Rigney and the other regulars take batting practice. For 15 minutes before the game they practise fielding. At 2:30—unless two games are being played that day or the schedule calls for a night game—the three umpires come onto the field, the grounds keepers finish powdering the base lines and Rigney goes to work.

The umpire is always right

His is not an easy job. He must hit balls thrown toward him at 90 miles an hour, field balls hit at more than 100 miles an hour, and several dozen times during the season base runners succeed in upsetting him, shattering his glasses and ripping his shins with spikes. Nevertheless, Rigney likes his work and feels he is lucky to be paid for it. After a minor-league career that just escaped mediocrity, he has emerged this season as an established regular on one of the major leagues' better teams. He led his league in batting for the first month of the season. Since May, his batting average has slipped, but he is still having a good year. After a slump, he is meeting the ball solidly again.

"When you're in a slump," he says, "you see fielders wherever you look. Everything sort of closes in. But when you're hitting good, you kind of feel, 'How hard should I hit it this time?' "

Generally speaking, there are two types of ballplayers: the noisy ones and the quiet ones. The noisy ones clown, complain to the umpires and keep up a steady stream of chatter on the field and from the bench. Rigney is one of the quiet ones. He has been thrown out of a game only three times in his seven years in organized baseball.

A few weeks ago, however, he protested a close play to Beans Rear-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

don, who is one of the National League's more experienced umpires.

"You think you're right?" Reardon asked.

"I do," Rigney assured him.

"Look in tomorrow's paper," Reardon said, "and you'll see you weren't."

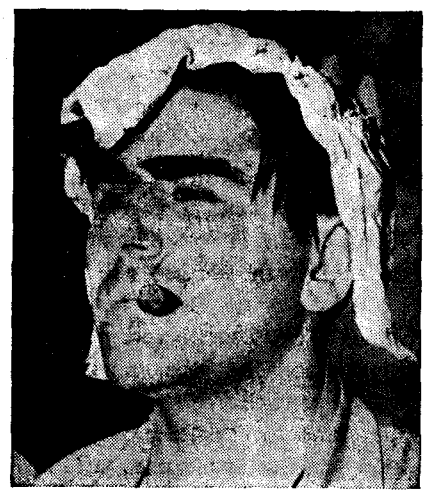
Boy from Oakland

RIGNEY'S father, who was a semi-professional pitcher until he hurt his arm, owns a tile business in Alameda, near Oakland. He wanted his sons to go to college. But George and Donald joined him in the tile company. Bill turned out to be a ballplayer, and that was better than college.

"I was too small to play ball in high school until my senior year," Rigney recalls. "After I graduated I was supposed to go to Saint Mary's. But that summer I played a little ball and listened to the talk and knew baseball was for me."

Rigney worked for his father weekdays laying tile and on Sundays played for an appliance-company team in an industrial league. His first Sunday, he got five hits, including three triples. That evening he had offers from the major-league Yankees, and from the San Francisco and Oakland teams in the Pacific Coast League. He was going to sign with the Yankees when someone explained one of the facts of baseball life to him. "The Yankees have Gordon at second and Rizzuto at short," they said. "You'll spend 10 years in the minors waiting for them to grow old." Rigney signed with Oakland, his home-town team. He went to spring training with the Oaks in 1938 and was optioned to Spokane in the class-B Western-International League for more seasoning.

The first thing he discovered in Spokane was that he was nearsighted. Everyone told him that a big-league infielder couldn't wear glasses, but Rig-



ney could hardly see the ball during night games and bought a pair in self-defense. Under inadequate lights on dirt infields, balls hit on the ground might bounce in any direction.

"One night," Rigney recalls, "I got hit in the teeth by one ball and in the nose by the next one. They both took bad hops and I had stitches all over my face."

Rigney got off to a bad start with his glasses and midway through the season the owner called him into his office, said, "Sorry, son," and handed him a pink release slip. "I thought the bottom had dropped out," Rigney says, "and then I heard Lefty O'Doul say no guy is a ballplayer 'til he has three of those."

The long way up

OAKLAND, to whom Rigney still belonged, tried him at short in a few games and his first time at bat in his home park with his family and friends watching, he singled. But next spring he was farmed out to Vancouver. He was traded to Bellingham in June and was operated on for appendicitis on the Fourth of July.

"That was the end of 1939," he says.

In 1940, Oakland shipped him to Topeka in the Western Association. The fields were cracked with the heat and the ancient bus took all day to reach Muskogee, at the other end of the League. The players ate in diners and sometimes as many as three hundred people would come in from the prairie to watch them play. Rigney had been raised to $300 a month and had recovered from his original surprise at being paid at all. He wanted to get back to the Coast League and that season he batted a respectable .276, drove in 123 runs and led his league in fielding.

When Oakland recalled him in 1941, he was 21, stronger, and confident that that was his year. His hitting was below expectations but the Oaks kept him in the line-up because of his fielding. He improved the next year and began to be talked of as a prospective big-leaguer. But when the sea-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

son was over his draft number came up and he enlisted in the Navy as an Athletic Specialist in the pre-flight-training program at St. Mary's. He played shortstop for the ball team and was later transferred to Alameda. There he met a pretty Berkeley girl named Paula, later Mrs. Rigney.

The big thrill

IN January, 1944, Rigney picked up a San Francisco paper and discovered he had been sold to the Giants. He began to hope the war would be over while he was still young enough to play for them. It was almost two years before he was discharged. By that time he had married Paula, and when he got to the Giants' spring-training camp at Miami Beach in February, 1946, William Joseph Jr. had arrived.

When Rigney checked in at the Venetian Hotel, Mel Ott, the Giants' manager and one of the great all-time stars of baseball, was at the desk and shook his hand and said he was glad to have Rigney with them. "That was it," Rigney says. "People always ask me what was my biggest thrill in baseball. I've hit a home run with the bases loaded in Brooklyn, but being met by Ott was it."

Rigney was given a locker and a uniform and allowed to sign meal chits in the hotel dining room. The Giants were a team of fading mediocrities that spring, and Rigney, for whom spring training meant a chance to prove he was ready for the major leagues, made the grade handily.

Rigney spent most of his first big-league season as a substitute. He found the pitchers hard to hit and was plagued by sprains and bruises. By September he was taped from head to toe. He hated the Polo Grounds because everything he hit there seemed to drop into opposing fielders' gloves. Now all that is changed. His average is up about 30 points; he has hit almost five times as many home runs as he did all last season.

"I have good confidence in this ball park now," he says.

Actually he had little to do with engineering his own success story. After he signed a contract with Oakland, he was no longer a free agent to play where he chose. Each New Year's Day the Giants mail him a contract stipulating the amount they will pay him for his next season's work. If he feels he's worth more money, he can argue or quit baseball. Since the Giants "own" him, he can't sign with another team. He can change clubs only when he is traded, sold or released. This is the system by which baseball operates.

Dollars and cents

LAST year, for the fourth time in baseball history, an unsuccessful attempt was made to form a players' union. It is not something Rigney likes to discuss. Club owners have hinted darkly at reprisals against players who join. But Rigney, who makes around $9,000 a year, opposes a players' union. Instead of that, he prefers the players'-representative plan, which Robert Murphy, the union organizer, has called a company union.

"I never met Murphy," Rigney says. "This union probably looked wonder-

Photos from I.N.P., Press Association, Acme

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ful to him. But we don't need it. This other way, it's among ourselves. Our own men talk to men who know what we want to talk about."

How much the average ball player is paid and how much the clubs make are secrets the owners industriously seek to keep. The average wage 10 years ago was about $4,700. Since the union threat, the owners have agreed to a $5,000 minimum salary, to a pension fund and to pay during spring training.

It probably costs $750,000 a season to run a major-league baseball club today. Perhaps a third is spent on salaries. With a winning team, the profit may run as high as $500,000. Two million customers will see the Giants play at the Polo Grounds this year. Watching Rigney perform at second base, they will munch 500,000 hot dogs and gulp down 500,000 beers.

At the top

THESE figures are important to Rigney because they are his bread and butter. The size of his pay check depends on the size of the crowds that turn out to watch him play.

"This year," he says, "we're trying to raise a new baby, a new car and a new house."

Now he is at the peak of his earning power. In a few years it will be the minor leagues, maybe a class-D managership, probably the tile business. Rigney doesn't know yet. How it will feel to come back and live like other men and make a living from day to day . . . how it will feel to turn over the roar of the crowd, the crack of wood against horsehide, the bite of cleats in the dirt, to some moist-eared kid up from a class-C club and to be an old man in your thirties, Rigney can't say.

Today the Giants are chasing Brooklyn down the pennant stretch and Bill Rigney feels immortal. In a few years it will be different. But whatever happens after this, he will always have with him the memory of that June afternoon at Ebbets Field when he hit a home run with the bases loaded. And there will always be kids who will want to hear about it.

Top Secret: Nazis at Work

by Seymour Nagan

German scientists brought here by the Army and Navy have moved in on vital research and are learning things they never knew

Most of the American scientists and government officials who were approached during the preparation of this article were reluctant to answer even innocuous questions which could not possibly lead to violation of security. Their reticence was based on fear of reprisals. So, although many of them recognized "Operation Paperclip" as a great potential threat to US security, no American names and only a few places connected with it can be mentioned.

LAST month, the nation's press played up a report that secret atomic data had been stolen from US government files. Although several important documents had in fact been taken by a pair of souvenir-hunting GI's, the papers were recovered before any damage was done. Nevertheless, the incident touched off a Senate debate, elicited a White House statement and, for a while, threatened to cause a shake-up of the country's vast atomic-energy setup.

At the very time this three-day sensation was making headlines, some 400 German Nazis were quietly working inside the nation's most heavily guarded laboratories. On every side they were surrounded by America's latest secret weapons. Yet J. Parnell Thomas and the House Committee on Un-American Activities were not alarmed. The FBI was not called in. America's press remained content with a series of official announcements that withheld more than they revealed. Except for protests from angry American scientists, the presence of the Germans near the heart of our military machine has caused little comment.

Behind this silence lies the fact that "Operation Paperclip," as the program for bringing the Germans here was named, is sponsored jointly by the Army and Navy, which treat it as a military secret. Except for three press releases given out during the last two years, details of the German's presence and activities have remained hidden behind a khaki curtain.

To justify this secrecy, the Army and Navy have labeled the project "essential to national security." "Paperclip," the services claim, "brought to this country top-flight [German] scientists . . . world famous for their contributions to science and technology." Their presence "promises to save two to 10 years in American research," say the services, in fields in which the Germans were supposed to be preëminent. Military spokesmen estimate that, through use of the Germans' knowledge and experience, the American taxpayer has already been saved "a minimum of $750 million in basic rocket research alone."

Taking these claims at their face value, secrecy would indeed seem to be necessary—up to a point. But to date enough information has trickled

Seymour Nagan is a reporter and feature writer who has contributed to the New York Times *and* Fortune *magazine.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

through the curtain to indicate that the Army and Navy are using military censorship to suppress the details of what can only be termed a blunder of the first magnitude.

The information points to the conclusion that Operation Paperclip is a great and growing threat to national security. The project's sponsors, when pressed, will admit that there is some element of danger attached to permitting German scientists to work near America's secret weapons. But they feel that the advantages to be derived far outweigh the dangers. American scientists, however, disagree. They cite facts to show that, whatever else they may be, the Germans are not assets, but military and moral liabilities.

As originally conceived, the purpose of Operation Paperclip was "to utilize German technical and scientific minds in the war against Japan." When the war ended, the War Department continued to import Germans "who could further research and scientific development in this country"—thus, in effect, laying down a policy of exacting "cerebral reparations" from the beaten Reich.

But somewhere along the line, hostility toward the Soviet Union was permitted to alter the original goal. In the closing days of the war in Europe—when Russian-American friendship was supposed to be at its strongest—US Army teams were combing occupied territory for German scientists, under orders to "get them" first and keep them out of Soviet hands.

Trial-and-error scientists

THE effects of this scramble were soon seen in the caliber of the men the Army brought here. The War Department still claims that its German importations are great scientists. But Army officers, however competent they may be in their own fields, are not the best judges of scientific worth. And American scientists, who are better qualified to judge, are not impressed with the Army's protégés.

They point to the fact that, long before the war, Adolf Hitler's purges forced the bulk of Germany's best scientific minds—Jewish and non-Jewish alike—into silence, concentration camps or exile, and nazified the rest. Nazi politics resulted in a concentration of scientific effort on immediate war equipment and in an astonishing disregard for the fundamental research which alone produces scientific progress. The Germans, for example, managed to build a V-2 rocket by trial-and-error methods, placing a crude model in a wind tunnel and literally hammering it into proper shape. But they ignored abstract or "pure" experimentation that might have led them on much further. By war's end they had amassed a vast body of technical data, but very few new ideas. And American scientists in and out of the government are unanimous on this point: we did not get the better-grade Nazi scientists—the men with ideas. Some of Germany's leading scientists are still at large in the British zone. The French hold others and the indications are that the Russians, too, grabbed their share.

Face-value acceptance

WHAT, then, did the US Army get? "The Germans we brought here are the equivalents of our high-class radio hams," one distinguished American physicist remarks. "At best they are clever military engineers," says another, the holder of one of the most important technical posts in the country. "For God's sake, don't call them scientists."

The Army, it appears, was sold—or sold itself—an expensive bill of goods. American civilians who were in Germany during the period of intensive recruitment report that many Germans were accepted at their own face value. To eager lieutenants anxious to make a showing, a German was often a scientist merely because he said he was. At Wright Field, Ohio, it was discovered not long ago that Herbert Axster, one of the ranking imported "scientists," was actually a lawyer by profession; he had simply claimed a technical background in order to be taken to America and thus to escape hard times in Germany. Again, three of the six German "scientists" now working on a small Army research project in the Northeast—Project X will serve to identify it—do not have professional degrees. They are merely graduates of trade schools and in this country would normally rate as "master mechanics."

In addition to this, there is evidence that the Army was careless in investigating the backgrounds of its Germans. A large proportion of those now here were active Nazis—by choice rather than necessity. As the spokesman for a large group of American scientists points out, most of the specialized war work in Germany was done by young technicians who had grown up in the tightly regimented Hitler Youth. Thus, half of the men at Project X pay lip service to democracy in the presence of their Army supervisors, but among themselves they still talk the Nazi philosophy.

In fact, remnants of their former Nazi hierarchy persist here. Werner von Braun, a German rocket engineer who received the Knight's Cross from Hitler for his war work, still bosses his fellow Germans at the Army rocket-proving ground at White Sands, New Mexico. And at Wright Field, when there was friction some time ago between a non-Nazi German and his Nazi superior, the Army obligingly moved the non-Nazi out.

War Department officials admit that it is possible that a few dangerous Nazis may have slipped in with the rest. But they claim that the Army's screening process winnowed out the great majority of die-hards at the source—Germany. The Army even boasts that its screening procedure is similar to that used by the FBI for investigating home-grown subversives. But, as at least a dozen indignant American scientists have observed, the Germans brought here had also been screened and found loyal by the Gestapo, which presumably had the time and facilities to do a more thorough job on them.

US secrets in danger

AS undistinguished as they are unreliable, the visiting German scientists have little to show for their efforts here. On occasion they have had precisely nothing to show. The six German technicians, alias scientists, at Project X, for example, spent more

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

than a year and $1 million working on a device which the Army was ready to acclaim as a milestone in its field. But when a contract for its mass production came up for review before an Army planning board, it was found that a superior product had already been put out by an American firm early in the war.

The Germans did come in handy at Fort Bliss and White Sands, where they initiated Army and Navy rocket experts into the mysteries of the V-2. They showed how the missile should be assembled and how the controls should be adjusted. But that was as far as they went. The Germans had no vital scientific secrets to impart—only scraps of technology. And what they taught could have been learned through trial-and-error in three or four months by the American technicians working with the rockets and with data captured during the war.

After two years, what does the Operation Paperclip balance sheet show? On the credit side, it has saved the US a little time and a little money that might otherwise have been spent in duplicating German discoveries. It has also kept some 400 technicians out of Soviet hands—although the Russians have probably obtained the Germans' know-how from other Germans.

On the debit side, Paperclip has brought to this country several hundred men who once worked to destroy it. The Germans receive as much as $3,120 yearly, plus $6 daily for expenses—in all, a little better than $100 a week. Most of them have been permitted to bring over their families; and since the War Department is responsible for the scientists while they are here, it sees to it that they are housed. Near one Army establishment, construction workers were pulled off a veterans'-housing project in order to speed the Germans' buildings.

Another of Operation Paperclip's practical effects has been to antagonize American scientists at a time when the Army and Navy are finding it difficult even to coax them into their laboratories. Part of the Americans' resentment arises from having to work alongside technicians whom they look down on as scientists and despise as men.

But the most important entry on the debit side is this: Paperclip has endangered the nation's most vital defense secrets. The Germans knew just so much when they came here. If American scientists knew less in certain fields, that was due to wartime decisions to concentrate on other, equally important tasks. Now, however, US scientific knowledge surpasses the German in practically every field. But after working inside our most secret laboratories, the Germans have acquired much of this advanced knowledge. Despite security precautions, it has been impossible to seal them into a vacuum. They have eyes and ears—and sufficient technical background to be able to use them properly. Germany was six to eight years behind us in radar when the war ended, but since then the German radar men stationed at Fort Monmouth, New Jersey, have received a liberal education from us in this field; the same is true for the German rocket men at White Sands.

Potential wildcat

MEANWHILE the time is rapidly approaching when American experts will have picked clean the Germans' brains. Then, the Army and Navy will be faced with the problem of what to do with them. "We would be fools to let them go home," said a State Department official. "They know too much." But this means they must somehow be rendered harmless here in the United States.

More than a year ago, the Army began to recognize the problem and to plan ways of unloading the Germans. It has asked several government agencies to take them over, but has met with only a small response. Firms like Cuneo Press and Remington Rand have expressed willingness to hire some. The Army has also approached Cornell, the University of Pennsylvania and other educational institutions, offering to finance faculty jobs for the Germans provided the Army sponsorship be kept hidden. With the exception of Boston University, which is using Claus Aschenbrenner, a specialist in optics, most of the colleges have refused. As matters stand now, the Army still has more than 300 Germans on its hands. It has a potential wildcat by the tail and cannot let go.

On the Army's Guest List

THE War Department calls them "top-flight German scientists" and has brought hundreds of them over here to work on our secret weapons. Here is a sampling:

Claus Aschenbrenner: Specialist in optics. Joined the German Air Force in 1936 and was a colonel at the end of the war. At present he is working at the optical-research laboratory of Boston University, which is under contract to the War Department.

Herbert Axster: One-time attorney in Berlin. Held a temporary wartime administrative job in connection with Nazi buzz-bomb manufacture; was active in responsible positions with both the Wehrmacht and Luftwaffe High Commands. Neither a scientist nor a technician. Though not known to have been a Nazi Party member, his wife belonged to the National Socialist Party Frauenschaft (women's auxiliary). Last reported working at Wright Field, Ohio.

Heinz Fischer: Specialist in infra-red spectroscopy. Member of the Nazi Party. Was offered by the US Army to Syracuse University; after faculty investigation was turned down.

Rudolf Hermann: Aircraft designer. Helped develop V-1 and V-2 missiles at Peenemünde and also worked on Hitler's idea of setting up space ships anchored permanently beyond the earth's atmosphere. Was a member of the Nazi Party and his wife was a leader in the Nazi Youth Movement.

Werner von Braun: Specialist in rockets. Helped develop V-2 rockets, and received the Knight's Cross to the Iron Cross, Germany's highest military decoration. Now bossing fellow-Germans at the Army rocket-proving grounds, White Sands, New Mexico.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books in Review

Manly Art

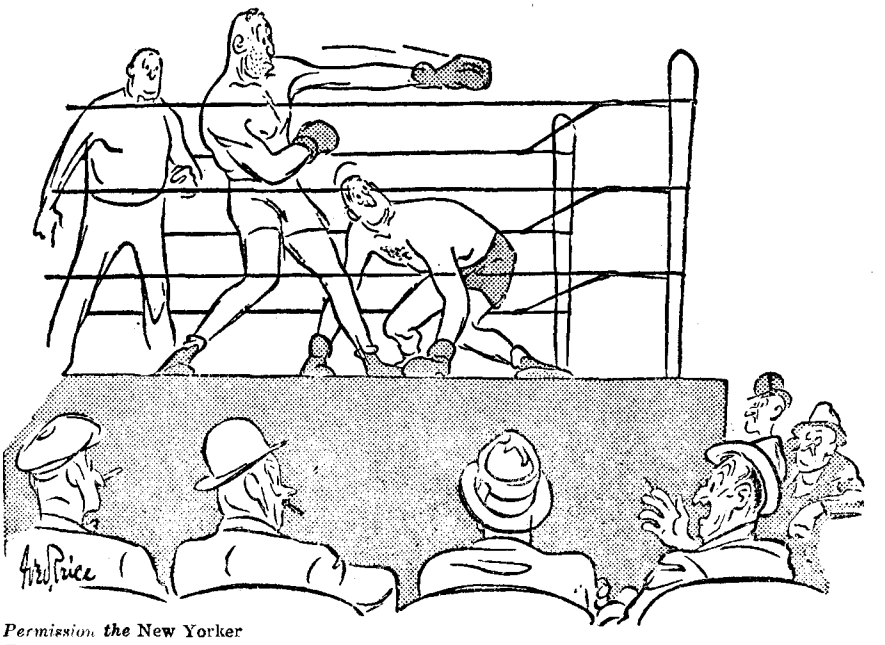
THE HARDER THEY FALL, by Budd Schulberg (Random House; $3).

THERE could hardly be a more ironic definition of anything in modern life than calling prize fighting "the manly art of self-defense." A dizzy combination of Roman gladiatorial combat, melodrama, farce, swindle, double cross and mass hypnotism, it could more accurately be described as one of America's most triumphant and most characteristic achievements in combining the best-paying features of big business, the circus and racketeering. It is shabby, exciting, disgraceful, touching, shameless and ridiculous, and it is somehow inescapably fascinating. In *The Harder They Fall,* Budd Schulberg, the young novelist who attracted attention with his *What Makes Sammy Run?,* contemplates the spectacle with the eye of a scientist, the heart of a sardonic moralist and the frank interest of a fight fan. The result is a striking and persuasive novel, which marks a noticeable advance over the author's much discussed earlier work.

For his story, Schulberg has gone to the grotesque and ugly history of Primo Carnera, the mild but mountainous Italian heavyweight, whose strength and innocence were so irresistible to various big businessmen of the underworld. Being but moderately conversant with the secret annals of the prize ring, this reviewer is unable to say how intimately the new novel follows the details of Carnera's career as an alleged championship contender. In at least one incident, though—the episode of a third-rate fighter who seems about to beat the valuable property from abroad but is betrayed by one of his seconds—the facts in the case are set down as they occurred, and the whole narrative has an authentic sound to it. For the purposes of the novel, the Italian Carnera has been changed to a kindly, slow-witted giant from the Argentine named Toro Molina, who had never wanted to hurt anyone in his life. *The Harder They Fall* is the story of how he was found in a village in the Andes by the small-time Argentine promoter who took him to America; how an eminent racketeer named Nick Latka took him over, got rid of the Argentine manager and proceeded to build the mild, gentle Toro, who hated to fight, into a great box-office attraction as a killer, and then turned on the giant and betrayed him when it suited his purposes. It is likewise the tale of Latka's press agent, who fooled himself into the belief that he was just digging up material for a play while he dutifully helped out on Nick's dirty work, and of a score of other racy examples of the fauna of the ring.

IT IS by no means an untold story which Schulberg uses for his narrative. It has been the subject of novels and motion pictures for many faithful years, with the treatment accorded it varying from tragic to comic; the most wildly hilarious use of all being in a fabulously funny and almost completely neglected story called "The Red Tiger," by a brilliant and now almost forgotten sports writer named Don Skene. As told in *The Harder They Fall,* the accent is familiarly bitter and scornful, and the climax is not even meant to be surprising. What gives the work its impressive quality is the realism and the scientific accuracy of its deadly picture of a sordid business. Schulberg knows the atmosphere, the history and the technique of the ring and the psychology of its fighters, promoters, hangers-on and public. Even the sentimentalism, the sadness and the rare examples of bravery are credible, because the author sees not only the ugliness but the fascination of the racket that is a sport. In a determined effort to find inaccuracies, I was unable to discover anything more than a typographical error which spells the name of Harry Balogh, the fight announcer with the genius for redundancy, "Balough."

Although neither Beth, the girl who tries to get the press agent to turn



Permission the New Yorker
The F-R Publishing Corporation

"Boy, what a left!"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

square, nor the press agent, who is the narrator and Greek chorus, is altogether successful as a creation, the other and, in particular, the lesser characters are admirable. It seems to me that in George Blount, the old Negro sparring partner with the great heart and the inexhaustible gayety, Schulberg has created one of the most touching characters in recent fiction. My impression is that George is closely modeled after old George Godfrey—apparently just as wonderful and winning a veteran in real life as his fictional counterpart seems—but that does not detract from the author's skill in depicting him. It is not a simple thing to write into a novel a character so potentially sentimental and not make him appear too sticky for comfort, or, perhaps, too patronizingly studied to be bearable, but it is a feat that Schulberg achieves admirably. Danny McKeogh, the honest trainer who takes to drink as an escape, is likewise effectively portrayed, but old George Blount is my boy. As for Shirley, the prostitute with the heart of gold, who takes beaten pugilists to her arms out of pity, I confess to being worried. The noble prostitute has become such an inevitable stock figure in both American fiction and American drama that it would be a delightful novelty to find a novel, or preferably a play, in which the red-light girl was mean or villainous.

More interesting than either the characters or the story is, as I have suggested, the detailed study of the fight business in action. The manner in which freak attractions are built up for the willingly gullible public; the methods of training, fixing fights and cutting up among the mob the profits of a dumb fighter's toil; the displays of chicanery, sadism and general bestiality and the all-around larceny of body and soul that go to make up the routine activity of the businessmen, technicians and broken-down pugs of the ring—all this is set down with a skillful combination of objectivity, distaste and frank excitement. Schulberg hates the sordidness, cruelty and corruption of the so-called fight game, but he can get as sentimental as the next man about the battered and punch-drunk veterans of an earlier day, and just as excited about a good battle between a couple of fighters who really fight.

In the end, the cynicism that is the natural result of such a procession of dubious characters and questionable deeds finds itself directed by implication at two targets. The first is that incorrigible butt of all the chicanery involved, the paying public. This public, however, is not merely the victim; it is also the co-villain. As Schulberg says, "The sadism and cruelty of the Roman circus audience still peers out through the eyes of the modern fight crowd. There is not only the conscious wish to see one man smash another into insensibility, but the subconscious, retrogressive urge to witness violent tragedy, even while the rational mind of the spectator turns away from excessive brutality." But the "rational mind" is not often evident, for the gullibility of the fight public has always been far beyond rationality. This melancholy fact is proved over and over again, as not only prize fighting but the movies, the radio and the business world constantly demonstrate.

THIS, in turn, brings one to the second implied target of *The Harder They Fall*. Schulberg is too able a novelist to emphasize it or to make any explicit parallels, but no thoughtful reader of his novel is likely to escape the realization that all the selfishness, evil, lust for power and money, and general skulduggery that reach such fantastic heights in the prize-fight business, differ from most other forms of big business only in being more melodramatic and exciting. Schulberg makes it evident that, on the whole, the fight magnates at least give the guests a better run for their money than their colleagues in other fields.

There is one other quality that is noticeable in *The Harder They Fall*. It is the manner in which it suggests one of the most important and cheering traits that American life and the fight business have in common. They both may have some extremely dubious phases which make any sensible average citizen unhappy, but there is about them a genuine vitality and richness. And there is always someone present, like the press agent, to make a protest against injustice, even if it is an ineffectual one. RICHARD WATTS JR.

Bill White of Emporia

WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE'S AMERICA, by Walter Johnson (Henry Holt and Company; $5).

WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE was born in 1868 and died in 1944. His lifetime, therefore, coincided with the great expansion of the American Middle West and he was in the full vigor of his young manhood at the turn of the century, when that expansion may be said to have reached its peak. His was the Middle Western small-town life of the church strawberry festival and the trotting races at the country fair; the days when you wound colored crepe paper through the spokes of your bicycle and marched in the Decoration Day parade; the days when nearly everyone accepted in dead earnest the platitudes of the Fourth of July orator; when the farmers, without radios and with precious few of the earliest telephones, were snowed in most of the winter and mudded in most of the spring, without being aware of any particular hardship; the days when theatrical entertainment for the pious Protestant population consisted only of an occasional amateur production of "Charley's Aunt" or a stereopticon slide lecture on the Holy Land.

Nostalgia is always a dubious mood and sometimes throws an embarrassing light on its possessor; but this reviewer, who grew up in the same region twenty years later than Bill White, still feels that this was a good part of the world and a good time. True, the area as a whole suffered from recurring drought, visitations of locusts, and depression. Our farmers were in bondage to the railroads, the grain elevators, the packers and to New York and European capital, but most of the time they were only dimly aware of it; they needed a flaming orator like young Will Bryan to arouse them intermittently to their unhappy plight as debtors in a society rigged to favor creditors.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The rapid increase in population kept land prices rising and created an illusion of prosperity frequently not justified by the facts. No matter how poor you were, everybody nearly always had enough to eat and wear; people who had never experienced the luxuries of running water and concrete roads saw no hardship in their absence. Most parts of the region sent a larger proportion of their boys and girls to high school and college than was true at that time, I am told, of any other place in the world. For a variety of reasons, race prejudice hardly existed in the Middle Western consciousness. Victorian optimism was still in flood tide: things would always get better and better in what was already the best of all possible worlds. Nobody could have made these people believe in a future which would include a Hitler, or the murder of six million people solely because of their religion, or the spectacle of man-made, almost universal starvation, or the threat of atomic warfare.

It was into this world that William Allen White was born, and in it he spent most of his life. The amateur psychiatrist who assumes that all writers are neurotics in greater or less degree, and that their writing expresses the attempt to compensate for some sort of unconscious inner imbalance, might make something of the report by White's biographer that he was a timid, fat child who never wanted to fight and was therefore persecuted by his playmates. At any rate, he was a gifted writer whose abilities went far beyond his use of them in journalism, except on a few occasions, such as his famous editorial on the death of his daughter or his Pulitzer Prize-winning statement on civil liberties, "To an Anxious Friend." His book of childhood sketches, *The Court of Boyville,* and the subsequent *In Our Town,* in the same mood, have authentic power.

Occasionally literary critics would protest to him about his having turned his back on such writing to do political articles, and White, with his extraordinary openness of mind to criticism from any quarter, would ponder gravely whether he should not abandon the Emporia *Gazette.* More than once, he took a long leave of absence for creative work, though he never again equaled the level of his earlier books. In a day when many busy people rattle off perfunctory letters on a dictating machine, he poured out an incredible volume of correspondence to a multitude of friends, letters as brilliantly turned, as full of odd, vivid, humorous phrases, as though they had been intended for the eyes of a million. His never failing sense of humor was usually a blessing but sometimes a curse; he could not resist the temptation to be impishly sardonic with people who did not understand such a mood, and he had to involve himself in endless explanations that some wild proposal of his had been only in fun.

WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE

THE chief indictments of Bill White are well known: his callow toryism in his early years; his orthodox Republicanism for a few months before each national election (Franklin Roosevelt once remarked that Bill White was for him three and a half years out of every four); his tendency at all times to be somewhat more conservative in his published utterances than in his private statements. His present biographer is inclined to excuse this last trait on the ground that he did not want to get too far out in front of the Kansas army of his followers.

But there is plenty to put on the good side of the ledger, too. White fought the Ku Klux Klan at a time when it very nearly dominated all of Kansas, and he probably did more than any other single individual to hasten its decline in the mid-twenties. He quarreled with his lifelong friend, Governor Henry Allen, and invited arrest by speaking out against the provisions of the Kansas state labor law which prevented free speech; he was the most important member of the presidential commission which cleaned up American rule in Haiti; he saw the dangers of Hitlerism far sooner than did most Americans; he fought the Red-baiters, like those in the Daughters of the American Revolution, long and effectively. He pleaded in the early twenties for an understanding of the human values in the Russian Revolution. Against his comparative orthodoxy of the twenties and thirties must be balanced the fact that he went out of the Republican Party with Theodore Roosevelt and the Bull Moosers. In short, a vivid, dynamic, endlessly energetic, often inconsistent, sometimes too cautious, lovable human being; on balance, a good man.

Walter Johnson has written a competent, conscientious biography—too conscientious, for my taste, in the elaborate details of long forgotten political campaigns. He rather labors the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

point that White became the myth hero of the Middle Western middle class, but no doubt there is something in it. His book is a successful portrait of the era as well as a picture in the round—and how round he was!—of Bill White. BRUCE BLIVEN

Fiction Parade

THE STEEPER CLIFF, by David Davidson (Random House; $3).

THE HOUSE OF SLEEP, by Anna Kavan (Doubleday and Company; $2.50).

CREATURES OF CIRCUMSTANCE, by W. Somerset Maugham (Doubleday and Company; $2.75).

ANDREW COOPER, the hero of *The Steeper Cliff*, is an American Army lieutenant assigned to the project of establishing a Nazi-free press in occupied Bavaria. While assembling staffs to manage the newspapers, he becomes intimately involved in the problems of German war guilt, and in conjectures of his own behavior under similar circumstances.

Cooper is an embarrassed conqueror. He is embarrassed not merely by his authority, or the assumption of righteousness which is the prerogative of victory, but first of all by himself. He is a self-condemned coward who despises himself because he has "always been afraid of an almost unbelievable number of things": of height, razor blades, criticism, violence. And of people. Particularly of love. "He could not bear the agony of intimacy with the world nor any of its inhabitants." He is a "turtle without a shell." He can neither accept fear as a universal human emotion, nor admit it as a personal idiosyncrasy and "live within his means." Twice, in his childhood, he had succumbed to panic and fled from violence which he should have faced. As an adult, under the burden of this guilt, "he had a desperate need to shed some of his blood," to throw himself "into the very face of violence."

The crux of his problem in Germany is that he recognizes in himself the impulses of the coward who must either assert himself as a bully or endure suffering as a martyr. And from this uneasiness begins his self-identification with the German people who "either wear boots or lick them. Or both."

In his search for accredited journalists, he learns of one Adam Lorenz, a mysterious character with a reputation for heroic resistance to the Nazis. He determines to find Lorenz, and, by an association never made very clear, identifies himself with the missing man. This unknown German becomes his alter ego, the agent of his responsibility, and the answer, when Cooper finds him, to the question of how he would have acted in Nazi Germany. Through Lorenz, Cooper expects to escape the torture of his own loneliness and to redeem his cowardice.

The search for the lost man is the action of the book. "It's hard to say whether I'm chasing Adam, or he me," but the author forgoes, in this novel situation he has created, most of the dramatic effects which would illustrate the complexity of his hero's frame of mind. Actually, Cooper isn't a very convincing character, but he is a compelling case. We don't get a clear idea of his personality; we shouldn't "know him if we met him." But we do have a detailed account of his symptoms and his problem, and we are only too familiar with his dilemma when we meet it every day. The difficulty in this book is that Cooper is not kept sufficiently clear as a special case, however common a case, and in the absence of any alternative point of view, his neurotic scruples might be taken for the conclusions of wisdom. It is to be regretted that the author hasn't separated himself explicitly from his protagonist for a detached criticism of his ideas and their implications.

The muddled humanitarianism and the sense of personal inadequacy which afflict most "decent" people often simply hypnotizes them before such an indictment as the German war guilt and, like Cooper, they rush to a self-purgation through identification with the accused. "Had the 70 million Germans been born in America, they would have lived out their lives drink-

BOOK CLUB SELECTIONS FOR AUGUST

BOOK FIND CLUB. *The Big Sky*, by A. B. Guthrie. An attempt to recreate, in fiction, the life of a hunter and trapper in the West in the nineteenth century, which may be accurate, but isn't art.

BOOK LEAGUE. *Home Country*, by Ernie Pyle. A collection of prewar articles about America by the GI's favorite war reporter.

BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH-CLUB. Dual selection: *The Last Days of Hitler*, by H. R. Trevor-Roper. Going by documents, a British intelligence officer writes the libretto of the top Nazis' last convulsive acts of betrayal, murder and Wagnerian self-immolation, played in Berlin before an orchestration of Russian shells and Allied bombs. *Vespers in Vienna*, by Bruce Marshall. A novel about a British occupation army officer and his staff who are quartered in a convent in Austria. Midsummer Selection: *The Moneyman*, by Thomas Costain. A historical romance of France in the middle ages. Superior hammock reading.

DOLLAR BOOK CLUB. *Gentleman's Agreement*, by Laura Z. Hobson. A "welcome, timely, able tract" against polite anti-Semitism. – Budd Schulberg in the *New Republic*, March 17.

FAMILY READING CLUB. *The Lonely Carrot*, by Mannix Walker. One of the characters in this book about characters on the Chesapeake Bay writes a book about characters on the Chesapeake Bay, which is accepted by a New York publisher; this is the most unlikely part of a very unlikely story.

LITERARY GUILD. *The Prince of Foxes*, by Samuel Shellabarger. A numbing, romantic tale of derring-do against an authentic Italian Renaissance background.

NON-FICTION BOOK CLUB. *William Allen White's America*, by Walter Johnson. Reviewed in this issue.

PEOPLE'S BOOK CLUB. *Together*, by Katherine Marshall. The memoirs of the wife of the Secretary of State.

PROGRESSIVE BOOK CLUB. *Our Fair City*, edited by Robert S. Allen. An excellent report from 17 American cities on municipal government. Reviewed in the *New Republic* March 17.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing soda pop"; implying, of course, the reverse: had 130 million Americans lived under the Third Reich they would have intoxicated themselves on the more potent beverages of the Munich beer halls. Therefore, everybody is equally guilty, at least potentially, so who's to throw the first stone?—which ignores the question of who threw the first bomb.

Actually, it can never be proved how anybody would have acted in another's situation, but that isn't the point. If judgment rests on something beyond the righteousness of the judge, and if the distinction between right and wrong isn't merely a matter of invidious personal comparison, the unembarrassed conclusion is that had the Americans acted like Germans, they would have been guilty in the same way. But the compassionate phrase, "There, but for the grace of God, go I," is not the same as the guilty generosity of Cooper's "There go I." The latter confuses that which is common to humanity and that which is particular to the individual. Cooper insists that all mankind is corrupt. Granted, but each man's sins are his own. As a coward, Cooper may identify his nature with a people who "either wear boots or lick them. Or both." But he can't mitigate their brutality and degradation by stepping on his own face.

ANNA KAVAN is concerned, as a novelist, with "private" experiences, and her work has been an attempt to demonstrate these by an appropriate language whose "privacy" sometimes defeats efforts at trespassing by even the most sympathetic readers. In *Asylum Piece,* published last year, she described the experiences of the insane. In her latest novel, *The House of Sleep,* she traces "the development of one individual" in terms of her dream life. This isn't simply an arbitrary technical trick, for the life of the girl in this book is a retreat from the daylight to the nighttime, where she "privately made for myself a world out of spells and whispers."

To her, "human beings were dangerous . . . like tigers prowling." Fear is the motive of her loneliness, and she

Here Are Passages From The Newest Reviews of the Book

PRACTICAL PSYCHIATRY

The Deseret News, Salt Lake City (June 12, 1947): "This book is intended for the laiety and, while avoiding technical discourse as much as a doctor can, it gives *fascinating* descriptions of the symptoms of oncoming troubles with analysis of results, prevention and treatment. 'And it provides the information in a lucid and authoritative manner."—Frank Winn. (This reviewer calls some of the stories "literature worthy of the *classics*" and about other parts he says, "They could be easily seized upon by some *movie* magnate desirous of making an authentic picture.")

The Sunday Miror, New York (June 8, 1947): "When an expert like Dr. Liber writes a popularly slanted book 'Popular Psychiatry' and writes it so that the average paper-cover bookman can get plenty of help from it in matters sexual and mental, we give pause and thanks."—Charles A. Wagner.

Pasadena, California, Star-News (June 1', 1947): "Writing with a good deal of common sense and without the customary gobble-degook terminology, Dr. Liber covers an extensive field in acomprehensive manner which is a valuable service to the layman."

The Milwaukee Journal (June 15, 1947: "When scientists point out that one out of every 20 persons will be mentally incapacitated, it becomes imperative that all of us be better informed about the causes, treatment and prevention of emotional disturbances. Dr. Liber in his new book has attempted to give the layman the answers to such questions. 'Practical Psychiatry' is interesting reading since most people, if they don't puzzle about themselves, at least at times wonder what in the world makes the other fellow tick. . . . 'Practical Psychiatry,' written in simple, direct, *non-technical* terminology, covers such *everyday* problems as child upbringing, marital discords, sexual conflicts, veterans' adjustments and the more abnormal problems such as paranoia and schizophrenia. Dr. Liber is well qualified to discuss these problems. . . . He illustrates in case after case that mental illness is largely a product of environmental circumstances and that the ounce of prevention should be taken by improving these social factors. . . . The common sense, environmental approach is a good starting point, and Dr. Liber *has accomplished a great deal* in bringing this to the attention of the reader."—Yvonne Vogel.

Oakland, California, Tribune (July 6, 1947): "It is true that a smattering of psychiatry is not good medicine for the type who cannot read about the symptoms of any disease without imagining he has them. It is also true that a lot of flagrant quackery is flaunted in the name of psychology—but the danger here is not because the learning is little but because it is false. On the face of it, it is just as sensible for the householder to have a 'what to do before the doctor comes' knowledge of the mind. . . . Not that Dr. Liber is opposed to common sense—far from it. But being a reputable psychiatrist, he knows that common sense is not enough. He does not scarify you with case records of extreme psychoses which obviously require hospitalization. His field, and it is extensive enough, is that *borderland* of emotional and mental disturbance which may cause twinges in any but the absolutely normal—if any such there be. What we call 'normal' is a delicate equilibrium, a balance of forces rather than a fixed status. Dr. Liber's purpose is to show *how delicate* that equilibrium is and how easily tilted, and to help give the jogs that restore the balance. *And a good job he makes of it.*"

SCIENCE ILLUSTRATED (August, 1947): "Dr. Liber has written (this book) out of his long experience as a practicing psychiatrist. He says it's written for physicians and intelligent laymen, but its appeal is actually *broader* than that. Written simply, directly, and with a great deal of tolerance and common sense, it makes a *good introduction* to psychiatry."

Recommended by reviewers and authorities

The New York *World Telegram,* the Philadelphia *Inquirer,* the *Medical Times,* the Atlanta *Journal,* the *New York State Journal of Medicine,* the *New York Medical Week,* the *Daily Worker,* etc., etc., have reviewed and praised it *in the past.* So have *Upton Sinclair* and *Dr. Adolf Meyer,* the Dean of American psychiatrists.

PRACTICAL PSYCHIATRY
(Between Mental Health and Mental Disease)
BY DR. B. LIBER
Adj. Professor of Psychiatry, Director of a Mental Hygiene Clinic

PRACTICAL PSYCHIATRY is a book on mental hygiene dealing with EVERYDAY difficulties of the average person rather than with rare or very abnormal cases. It deals with conditions which occur in all classes of society, among all sorts of people. *There is hardly a family completely free from some mental trouble.* It traces the growth of the mind from *childhood* through *adolescence to maturity* and discusses the question of SEX and MARRIAGE frankly. Anyone who can read any book can read it with much profit.

It is only two and a half months since the appearance of the present edition of this book and a new printing is being planned.

This book contains 432 pages, 250 case histories, is beautifully printed and elegantly bound in cloth. Price $3.50

Ask for it in bookstores or order direct from

Distributor: HARTSDALE HOUSE
220 WEST 42nd STREET NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

protects herself by the familiar device of "preventing the day world from getting real." Her night world is a curious and beautiful one, clearly described, for the most part, by precise visual images, and open to anyone for a look around. But I cannot follow Miss Kavan's contention that "no interpretation is needed for this dream tongue," and I begin to suspect that she has miscalculated its effect when she implies, in a short preface, that it describes the influences of "cosmic radiations."

CREATURES OF CIRCUMSTANCE is a collection of 15 short stories, written since 1934. They have all been previously published in magazines, and are probably familiar to people who are addicted to Maugham. Anyone who has made up his mind about this writer would find no reason here to change his opinion.

It is interesting to note, from his preface to this volume, that Maugham continues to chafe at the "critical depreciation" of the "intelligentsia." His potshots at the bogey of the "highbrow" are all the more ludicrous because it has long been evident that he would happily surrender if there were the slightest chance of being received into the "enemy" camp. His claim that "I endeavor to bear my misfortunes with fortitude," is belied by his peevish carping at the slightest criticism. Among the grievances he lists for readers of the present volume is a disingenuous explanation for his disfavor. It is because he publishes his stories in magazines! The critics "dismiss" them "as magazine stories because they are well constructed, dramatic, and have a surprise ending." Even the "intelligentsia" would grant that, for the first two qualities at least, Maugham has written a number of effective stories. And he knows it. It is not by this kind of stupidity that he has attained his tremendous success.

He concludes: "I have never pretended to be anything but a story-teller." Of course, this false modesty and the grumblings about the "intelligentsia" are really one kind of vulgar compliment to a sentimental idea of "Art."

JOHN FARRELLY

Farm

Condemned to Shanties

IGNORING the urgent need of millions of Americans, the recently adjourned Congress refused to do anything about housing for low-income farmers. Housing in towns and cities is bad, but in rural areas it is a disgrace to the nation. It is estimated that one-third of all rural houses are irreparable and should be destroyed and that another third are in need of major repairs. Only 18 percent of the nation's farmhouses have running water, only 15 percent have mechanical refrigeration and only 11 percent have plumbing. The corresponding percentages for city houses are 94, 56 and 78.

The condition of rural housing in the South constitutes a major threat to the health of the population. In Virginia, for example, a survey of 10 counties showed that only 12 percent of white farm tenants had water piped into their houses and only five percent had hot water. Only six percent had bathtubs. The Negro farmers, as usual, were worse off. Conditions in Kentucky, where 51 percent of the farmhouses were worth less than $500 in 1940, were not much better. Four-fifths of the farm population used outside toilets. According to Mrs. Samuel I. Rosenman, Chairman of the National Committee on Housing, nine percent had no toilets at all.

Housing in the farm areas has been growing worse for the last 25 years. During the war, little farm building was done. Labor was scarce and materials were reserved for war needs. Since the war, materials have continued to be scarce and even increased income has not been sufficient for farmers to spend much on housing. Half of America's farmers made less than $1,300 in 1945.

The farm home is vastly more important to the family than the city home. The wife of the low-income farmer spends her time in the kitchen, on the back porch or in an adjacent building preparing or canning food. Usually she must carry the water from the well to the house. (The Virginia survey showed that the water supply was on the average 82 yards from the house.) She must build a wood fire and cook the family's meals on an old smoky stove. She has in her daily life no labor-saving or modern devices that might give her comfort and leisure. Often she doesn't even have electric lights (only 53 percent of all farms are electrified). At night she must read or sew by a smoky kerosene lamp. When it rains, she must move the furniture and put tubs and buckets around to catch the water.

THESE facts have been known for years. Investigations and surveys have been made and bills have been introduced in Congress, but little has been done. It is estimated that publicly sponsored credit and housing projects have affected only four percent of the nation's six million farmhouses, and many of these of course did not fall in the low-income group. The first real effort to assist underprivileged farmers came with Tugwell's resettlement subsistence scheme. Yet this, over the period from 1934 to 1941, provided

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

housing for only 15,000 people and farm-labor camps housed only about 50,000.

The Farm Security Administration, which fell heir to Tugwell's houses, did more for the low-income groups than any other agency. Yet figures which were obtained last week from the Farmers' Home Administration (the new name of Farm Security) show that, from the beginning of the farm-tenant home owners' program in 1938 to July 1, 1947, only $272,857,305 was loaned to 44,331 farmers for the purchase of farms.

Because so many farms are poor or small or undeveloped, it is estimated that there are about 2.5 million farmers who can't get credit for housing. The Department of Agriculture estimates that there are about a million of these who would be, financially, a good risk under the long-term, low-interest rates of the Farmers' Home Administration Act and that another half-million would be a good risk if they were helped in expanding their operations. For the remaining million low-income farmers, the USDA suggests at least that screens be put on the windows and that water supplies and sewage disposal be made sanitary so they won't constitute a menace to the farmers themselves and to the community.

As President Truman pointed out recently, Congress should have passed the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill, instead of looking out for the real-estate interests to the detriment of the American people. This bill, while it only provides a piddling $35 million annually for 45 years for rural housing ($10 million for farm housing and $25 million for rural non-farm housing), is much better than nothing. But it fell by the wayside after it had been favorably reported by the Senate Banking and Currency Committee. Senator Robert A. Taft (R, Ohio) made little effort to put through his own bill, and it is doubtful whether the Senate will pass it when it reconvenes in January. Chances for passage of a similar bill by the House are reported to be slim.

ANGUS MCDONALD

BRITAIN and WORLD TRADE

A REPORT BY PEP

(Political and Economic Planning)

The New Republic has received a limited consignment of the important study "Britain and World Trade" published on June 14 in London by PEP, an independent, non-party organization whose Broadsheets and Reports have gained international renown since it was founded in 1933. The sales price is $5.25 postpaid; an order form is provided below.

Some British Press Notices

"It paints on a wide canvas. It has the long perspective the government's Economic Survey so sadly lacked. . . . An invaluable compendium on the problems that face us."—*Financial Times.*

"The facts given are lavish and enlightening."—*Times.*

"Our own position . . . has been well and fully analyzed in a remarkable PEP book."—Sir Arthur Salter in the *Sunday Times.*

— — — — PLEASE TEAR OFF AND MAIL — — — —

NEW REPUBLIC
40 East 49th Street, New York 17, N. Y.

For the attached $5.25 (includes postage) please send me *Britain and World Trade* by PEP (Political and Economic Planning).

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

8-11-47

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Movies

Good News

FREDERICK WAKEMAN, while a Navy flier during the war, wrote a successful book called *Shore Leave*. It was a sort of companion piece to *See Here, Private Hargrove*, and the two together roughly filled the shoes of the *Dere Mable* series of the war before last. *Shore Leave* was made into a play, variously called "The Lovely Leave" and "Kiss Them for Me." During the summer the war ended, Wakeman, methodically and in a remarkably short time, wrote a novel lampooning the radio-advertising business, in which he had served time. This was *The Hucksters*, and it caused an astonishing amount of comment, particularly in advertising circles. It added a new word, or rather a new meaning for an old word, to our vocabulary, and that is an unchallengeable hallmark of success.

The book was immediately rented to the movies for a sum that was fabulous and in a deal that established a short precedent. The agreement not only provided for a down payment and subsequent payments at agreed intervals, but stipulated that in due time movie rights to the book should revert to Wakeman. This was a daring departure from the fixed rules and must have gladdened many writers, their heads filled with visions of revenge substantially rewarded. The novelty, though, seems not to have caught on, and I notice that producers are back doing business in the old way, with Hollywood writers selling their wares outright, though naturally for no mean prices.

With great fanfare and, for Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, an admirable disposition to show the public a little of what makes the radio sammys run, Arthur Hornblow has made of *The Hucksters* a worthwhile movie. The critics I have read were ecstatic over Sidney Greenstreet, and they were right. The character he plays is the childishly temperamental magnate whose acumen and terrible manners frighten his high-salaried minions senseless. He belongs in a nursery for backward executives and ends up knee-deep in your affections. It is almost impossible to see "The Hucksters" without wishing that everything possible should be done to clear the way for Sidney Greenstreet and the English actress, Deborah Kerr, who plays here opposite Clark Gable.

Gable himself, as it turns out, is on the screen almost every moment, which may be the result of exaggerated enthusiasm on the part of Luther Davis, who wrote the screen play. Gable plays Vic Norman, the man with some sense in a crazy world. He is a pleasant actor, but he seems to share with his director in this movie, Jack Conway, a fairly dated idea of his virtues as an actor. As vogues in faces change every few years, not only in the movies but generally, as there is a slightly different standard of beauty in women; so, in approach and personality and technical detail, there is a change in what is acceptable and convincing in character delineation. Gable is consciously appealing in a year when, no matter how much you like him, this particular deliberation seems wrong and at times embarrassing.

CLARK GABLE

There are many funny scenes in the film and almost as many good performances as there are actors. Among the players who will, at one time or another, amuse you, are Adolphe Menjou, Keenan Wynn, Edward Arnold and Clinton Sundberg. Ava Gardner, who was effective and even memorable in "The Killers," is not shown to advantage in "The Hucksters." In one short scene which seems to me typical, Conway has her arrange flowers in a way that gives the impression that she has never seen, let alone touched, a flower before. Such a surprise! What happiness!

"CROSSFIRE," like "The Hucksters," is good entertainment. In addition, it is an example of an exciting movie that has an important point to make. It is the story of intolerance growing into bigotry and breeding murder; of dislike becoming prejudice and, with the help of idleness and drink, evolving into crime. The picture is expertly directed by Edward Dmytryk and wonderful performances are to be seen by Robert Young, Robert Mitchum, Robert Ryan, Gloria Grahame, George Cooper and Steve Brodie.

Sam Levene, as usual a fine actor, plays in "Crossfire" the comparatively minor part of the Jew who is killed. Dore Schary has an intelligent, active integrity as a producer and I have come to expect of him honest portrayals and stories containing the ring of truth. May his tribe increase—it is not yet crowding the streets of Hollywood.

John Paxton wrote the scenario of "Crossfire" from a novel inferior to it, called *The Brick Foxhole*. I've never heard of Paxton before, but he is obviously a valuable man for RKO to have around. "Crossfire" deserves superlatives and RKO, congratulations. The picture is made with a straightforward, intense simplicity, a surety and lack of pretension, an almost taken-for-granted assumption of the reality of decency. It makes the hope I have for good movies—after a long stretch of seeing bad ones—again an attitude with some reality to back it up.

SHIRLEY O'HARA

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Radio

Conversation Piece

As I give my desk its pre-vacation clearing, I shall indulge in some private chitchat. My comments are addressed directly to a few individual readers whose cogent observations stood out of the mail pack, but I'm willing to share the wealth.

Adam McGhee, Quincy, Massachusetts: "What can be done about these singing commercials that come squeaking out at us?" Well, you could switch to Camels. Suppose, every time you heard an annoying commercial, you notified the sponsor that his plug caused you to transfer affection to his competitor? It's been tried before. At times it has worked.

Bruno Beckhard, St. Petersburg, Florida: "I find it increasingly difficult to get programs from Hollywood that do not give me the impression of being at a party to which I was not invited. . . . It is usually obvious that the studio audience is having a lot of fun, but the poor listener gets only the commercials. . . . Just to tip the scales the other way, the Thursday night 'Family Theatre' deserves more attention than it has had."

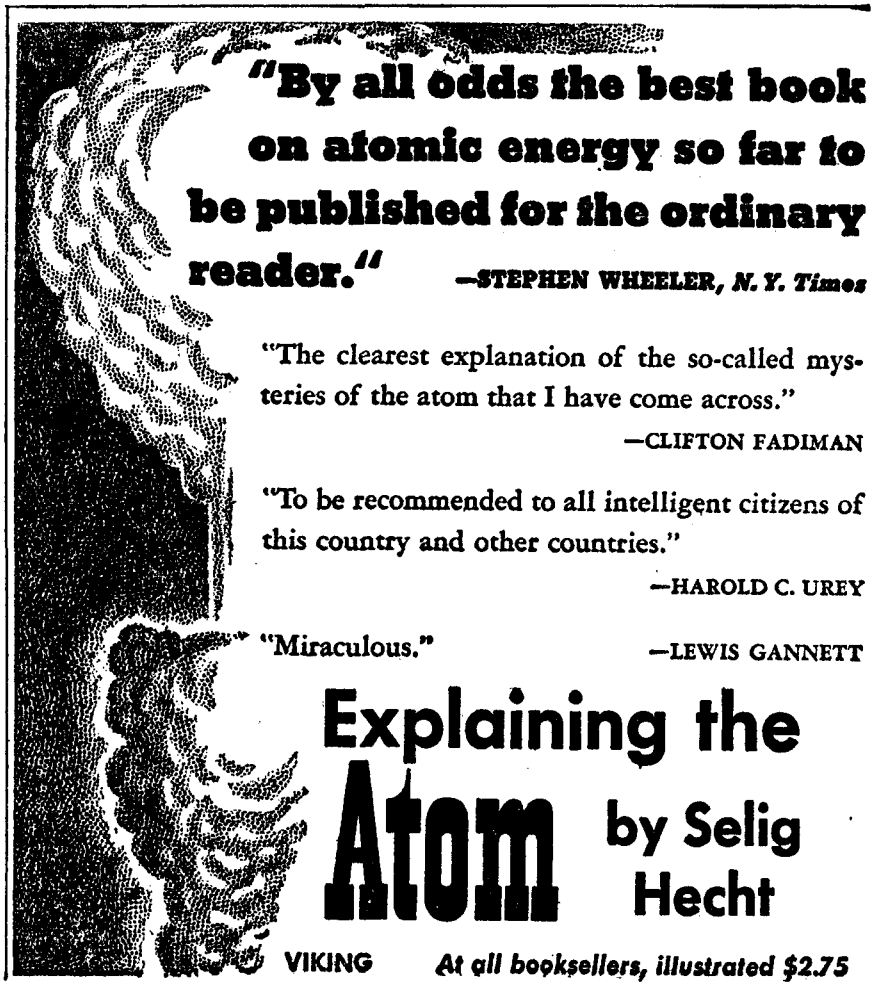
You are right on the first point. "Sight gags" are a bane and a pain; they elicit howls from several hundred members of the studio audience, while the millions at the loudspeakers wonder what the hilarity is all about. It's also true there are no such shenanigans on "Family Theatre," the Mutual show (Thursdays, 10 p.m.), which originates in Hollywood. But this star-studded production is too heavily unctuous. I have no quarrel with the program's two-fold objective to prove that: (1) there is efficacy in prayer; (2) Hollywood really does respect the sacredness of family life. I prefer to hear family life discussed with punch and candor as it's being done on "The American Family," currently heard only over WOV, New York. This show discusses sex, matrimony, divorce, etc., calling a spade by its right name.

If it's the strictly religious angle that interests you, I recommend "The Greatest Story Ever Told" (ABC, Sundays, 6:30 p.m.), which the *Churchman* has called the greatest show of its kind ever attempted. For straight emphasis on prayer, you'll find undoubtedly that one of your local stations is among the more than 700 in this country which carry the "Sacred Heart" devotional transcriptions (which I have heard in New York over WNEW).

No less an authority than *L'Osservatore Romano* has recently devoted a lot of space to complimenting the Reverend Patrick Peyton, the apostolic priest behind "Family Theatre." Mutual gives free time to this show on 136 stations. But it is still too oily for my taste.

Mrs. Harriet Berg, Loveland Ohio: "I am trying to prepare a list of listenable radio programs for our AVC Women's Auxiliary chapter. . . . Have you any suggestions for programs to listen to weekday mornings? Most of us are housekeeper-mothers, and we're pretty well fed up on that Oxydol dribble." Sorry, ladies, you've got me. Unless you would like to get up early enough to listen to the agricultural broadcasts, or your local station airs something terrific between eight and 11 a. m., I can't be of much help. The best you'll get on the networks until 11 will be news—particularly Martin Agronsky, on ABC, and the CBS round-up, both at eight a. m. (E. D. T.). Cecil Brown, the best of the morning newscasters, is available on Mutual at 10. An hour later, at 11, you have a choice of two expensive productions with considerable following: the Fred Waring show on NBC and Arthur Godfrey's merry-go-sound on CBS.

S. T. McNeal, Santa Ana, California: "I think if you were to study and analyze Mutual's 'Meet the Press' [Fridays, 10 p.m.], you would find an


"By all odds the best book on atomic energy so far to be published for the ordinary reader."
—STEPHEN WHEELER, N. Y. Times
"The clearest explanation of the so-called mysteries of the atom that I have come across."
—CLIFTON FADIMAN
"To be recommended to all intelligent citizens of this country and other countries."
—HAROLD C. UREY
"Miraculous."
—LEWIS GANNETT
Explaining the Atom
by Selig Hecht
VIKING
At all booksellers, illustrated $2.75

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RESORTS

SCHROON CREST
IN THE ADIRONDACKS
POTTERSVILLE • NEW YORK
Complete Entertainment & Social Staff, Bob Adler, Director; Al Sheer & Orch.; Folk Dancing; Cozy Bar; Private Sandy Beach; Swimming; Rowing; Motor Boating; Canoes; Bicycles; Horses; 5 Superb Tennis Courts; All Sports. 285 Acres for Fun and Recreation.
LEAH OKUN, Director
Phone: Chestertown 2830 — City Phone: MA 4-8570
INFORMAL ADULT CAMP ON SCHROON LAKE

MERRIEWOODE
A Camp for Adults Stoddard, N. H.
FOR YOUR ENJOYMENT: Beautiful Highland Lake, 10 miles long, with good fishing and free use of boats and canoes; interesting hiking objectives thru woodland trails; fine tennis and handball courts, badminton, shuffleboard, archery, riflery, croquet, ping-pong, square dancing.
JULY and AUGUST Rates—$55, $60, $65 weekly.
OLIVE H. G. BARON, Dir.

Congenial Guests $5.00 Daily
Ripe autumn colors, soon, will glorify our "FOREST-FARM-LAKE-MOUNTAIN PARADISE" Where World-wide Fellowship, with Peace and Plenty, Reflect the Goodness of the World-to-Be. Write
WORLD FELLOWSHIP, Inc. near CONWAY, N. H.
for free pictured folder
(Advance Reservations necessary)

HOTEL CAPITOL, LIVINGSTON MANOR, NEW YORK. Boating, bathing, fishing, all sports. Modern hotel with all facilities. July and August rates $40 to $48 per week.

$5 for You!
Get New Subscribers for the
NEW REPUBLIC

→ Many readers have asked for the chance to sell the New Republic to their friends. Here is your opportunity to have others benefit from the same clear appraisal of the news, the same firm voice for a progressive program.

→ For complete details about this unusual offer—by becoming a special subscription representative — write Dept. LA-1 at address below today. You will get a prompt reply to your request for information. No obligation, of course.

Write
Dept. LA-1
NEW REPUBLIC
40 EAST 49th STREET
New York, N. Y. 17, N. Y.

interesting study in reaction posing as 'free radio'." An interesting study in capsule reviewing, I call that, Mr. McNeal. Correct, too.

Ione Riggs, Nelson, Nebraska, has something to say on freedom. She writes: "During the radio campaign against the Taft-Hartley bill, Fiorello La Guardia [Mutual, Saturdays, 7:45 p.m.] had three girls from different parts of the country one night, each giving her reasons why the T-H bill should be vetoed. I heard the show over WNAX, Yankton, South Dakota. KHAS, at Hastings, Nebraska, which usually rebroadcasts La Guardia's program on Monday, used his preceding week's recording instead that time. Remember, the opening on the La Guardia program is: 'Mr. La Guardia, the freedom of the air is yours!' Freedom for what?"

Rolf Kaltenborn, Palm Beach, Florida, speaks to the same point: "For radio to become truly an instrument serving democracy, definite times should be set aside for talks by representatives of minority parties and viewpoints. . . . The networks do 'make available' many good talks, but commercial considerations often prevent local stations from bothering to take them; also, the hours at which such talks are made available usually are hopelessly inconvenient."

Chester F. X. Burger, of WCBS-TV, New York, objects to my recent assertion (in a column on television) that video news differs from that over the radio "only in that you see the newscaster." He asks whether I saw the Tom O'Connor television newscast on WCBS-TV (Saturdays, 8 p.m.). The answer is yes. The O'Connor show, using newsreel clips, is an improvement. But having seen a lot of television in the last few weeks under home reception conditions, I adopt as my own another of the comments in Burger's letter, to wit: "We quite agree that television programming is in need of drastic improvement."

EDWARD R. MURROW has quit his CBS vice-presidency to go back to the air. Beginning September 29, you'll be able to hear him five times a week over CBS at 7:45 p.m., under the sponsorship of Campbell's Soup. On those nights when H. V. Kaltenborn is on for Pure Oil at the same time over NBC, you may be able to get interesting contrasts if you can listen to two stations simultaneously. . . . Having gone over big last winter, when he guest-starred on the Bing Crosby Philco show (ABC, Wednesdays, 10 p.m.), Al Jolson has decided radio is here to stay. He will head the "Kraft Music Hall" on NBC, Thursdays at 9 p.m., beginning October 2. . . . Arthur Godfrey's "Talent Scouts" has a sponsor now (Lipton Tea) and has shifted to Mondays at 8:30, over the same net, CBS. NBC has also gone in for the talent hunt, more or less in the tradition of the late Major Edward Bowes. NBC's emcee is Eddie Dowling, and his show, called "The Big Break," is on Sundays at 10:30 p.m. . . . One of radio's best comedy writers, Abe Burrows, has done a lot of screwy ballads and other funmaking ditties that kid the stuffiness out of Tin Pan Alley's stock in trade. Burrows' shows until now have been confined to the glamor circuit at private parties in Hollywood. Now CBS has given him 15 minutes of air time, each Saturday at 10:30 p.m. . . . Boris Karloff is scaring the stuffings out of people on "Lights Out," which is Eversharp's replacement for Henry Morgan on ABC, Wednesdays, 10:30 p.m. Morgan will be back at his corner September 10. . . . I'll be back in these pages September 15. In the interim, I shall work the guest star routine.

SAUL CARSON

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Labor

Farmers v. Unions

Two unions of the CIO have taken the lead in an effort to do something about that traditional hostility between farmers and labor unions which, in its way and with modifications, is part of the ancient struggle between city and country that has existed since civilized society began. The two CIO unions are the United Farm Equipment Workers, with about 45,000 members engaged in manufacturing agricultural machinery, and the United Packinghouse Workers, the members of which process the livestock sold by farmers to packers.

Several examples are available of the type of work they do. In Ottumwa, Iowa, a group of dairy farmers were "on strike" this spring against local dairy interests. After about a week, when the "strike" was petering out, the UPWA began to take an interest. The largest industry in Ottumwa is the packing industry.

The UPWA sent its farm-relations director, Lee Simon, to Ottumwa, armed with information about the local dairies' financial status and ability to pay. Local unions, both the AFL and the CIO proposed that, unless management got together with the farmers, they would issue a statement supporting the strikers. The result was that the dairy managements and the farmers sat down to a lengthy negotiating session, along with labor-union "observers," and the strike was settled.

In Mayfield, Kentucky, last June, the

UPWA was seeking a contract with the local branch of the Pet Milk Company and the company suggested that farmer "observers" sit in on the contract negotiations. The union willingly accepted—as a matter of fact, following successful Canadian experience, the UPWA had asked the big Chicago packers last year to allow farmer "observers" in wage negotiations generally. At Mayfield, the UPWA got an excellent contract, with the farmer "observers" tending eventually to take the union's side in disputes.

The UPWA set up its farmer-labor and annual-wage committee in 1944, the theory of tying the annual-wage thesis to farmer-union coöperation being that farmers will benefit if city workers can buy farmers' produce. In a publication, *The Meat of It*, the UPWA has tried to carry the union's story to farmers, emphasizing the profits of the packers and stressing the doctrine that both farmers and city workers have a natural, if unrecognized, alliance in relation to the packers.

The Farm Equipment Workers' director of farmer relations is a North Dakota ranch owner, Homer Ayres, who had been active in the National Farmers' Union. Ayres writes a weekly column on farmer-labor matters for the Federated Press, a labor-news syndicate. He spoke recently at a country-life institute at Dubuque, Iowa. In states as widely separated as Vermont and North Dakota, FE's initiative has resulted in considerable coöperation on mutual problems between farmers and union members.

FE's experience has indicated that many farmers with a long tradition of populism and marketing coöperatives are reaching the conclusion that cooperatives are not enough to meet their problems, and that political action must be undertaken. In South Dakota, oddly enough, this conviction has as yet produced no revolt against Senator Bushfield and Representative Karl Mundt,

RESORTS

YOURS! A little more than EVERYTHING!
FOR A WONDERFUL VACATION—MAKE RESERVATIONS NOW!
ALL SPORTS (professionally equipped)...riding, too...indoor recreations. Arts and Crafts, good eating, merry company, entertainment staff, musicales, open-hearth fires, cheery quarters (regular or de luxe).
WOODBOURNE, N.Y. Tel. WOODBOURNE 1150
CHESTERS ZUNBARG
A DELIGHTFUL HIDEAWAY IN THE MOUNTAINS

Stonegate LODGE
ON LONG LAKE, N. Y.
Informal Adult Resort in the Adirondacks
14-mile Lake—Fishing—Boating—Tennis
Open All Fall — Heated Buildings
Free of Hay Fever
N. Y. Office: 150 Nassau Street. WO 2-2900
Louis A. Roth, Director

THE WOODLANDS
PHOENICIA, NEW YORK
FOR the SPIRITED: hiking, swimming, tennis, ping pong, handball, volley ball, trout fishing, archery.
FOR the LAZYBONES: Sound movies, modern library, recordings, open fireplace, good eating.
Art Classes Held by JOSEF ZENK
Rates $47.50 and $50.00 weekly
• Tel.: Phoenicia 33F4 • Siggie Goldner •

BYRAM LODGE
ARMONK, N. Y. Tel. Armonk Vill. 906
Only 35 miles from N. Y. C. in Westchester. Completely remodeled, all conveniences, new furnishings. Beautyrest mattresses, all sports, bowling.
Rates $60 weekly; $10 daily. American plan
American-Jewish Cuisine
N. Y. Office: 11 West 42nd Street PE 6-3243

HATHAWAY LODGE
OPEN ALL YEAR—FOR ADULTS
Formerly the palatial 592-acre Macy estate in the beautiful "Hills of the Sky." Luxurious rooms, many with open fireplaces. Tennis courts, handball, badminton. Swimming pool, sun pavilion. Horseback riding. Golf course nearby. Delicious Jewish-American food. Easy transportation. Attractive rates.
For Reservations or booklet write or call
HATHAWAY LODGE, Haines Falls, N. Y.
Telephone: Tannersville 299

GREEN ACRES LODGE
CENTRAL VALLEY, N. Y.
. . . A Picturesque Estate . . .
Diversified Book and Music Library
Swimming Pool . . . Golf
AN ADULT RESORT 45 MILES FROM N.Y.C.
TEL. HIGHLAND MILLS 3071

VERMONT VACATION

ETHAN ALLEN FARM offers simple living, beautiful countryside, to a few guests. Interracial. $35 week. Write, Miss Reland Gray, RFD 2, Chester, Vermont.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FOR SALE

5-ROOM lodge fronting on the beautiful Restigouche River in the Matapedia Valley in the Province of Quebec at the Gateway to the Gaspe—ideal for fisherman; excellent condition; fully furnished; owner occupied. Price—including land and garage $5,000.00.

For further information apply to:

CLARENCE ROSENHEK
10 St. James Street West Montreal 1, Canada

CIGARETTES

CIGARETTES—Popular Brands. Minimum 3 cartons. $1.43 carton postpaid. Checks or money order. Mason's Reliable Service, 431 S. 14th St., Newark 3, N. J. Mitchell 2-5601.

CIGARETTES—popular brands; minimum 3 cartons. Price $1.45 per carton; postpaid. Send check or money order. Ace Mail Order Co., East Orange B, N. J.

FARMS & ACREAGE

BERKSHIRE Farm AGENCY, East Chatham, N. Y. Farms and estates. Massachusetts-New York Berkshires (Tanglewood Country). Consulting broker for organizations.

"GOOD NEIGHBORS" WANTED

CHOICE ACRES are offered much below developer's prices. Write Chester Rick, Peekskill, New York, Tel. 2515-M.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 5-0956. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons. By appointment, or mail. Marital, educational, vocation, psychological problems. Fee $3.00.

HANDWRITING ANALYZED, personality interpreted methods Freud, Adler, Jung. Partnership, marriage, vocational guidance. School of Self-Improvement, 131 West 15th Street. WA 9-3620 (2-4).

HOME PLANNING

ALL-AMERICAN RANCH HOUSES, a new colorful 48-page home-planning book to delight you. Prepaid $2.00. Blueprints available. Special PLANS DRAFTED. Also, HOME-PLANNING KIT — including 6 varied plan books—$5.00. Send check or money order. MODERN HOMEWAYS, 2306 W. 10th, Topeka, Kansas.

LANGUAGES

29 LANGUAGES by Linguaphone, Russian, Spanish, Portuguese — Direct conversational method of mastering any language quickly, easily, correctly at home. Available under GI Bill of Rights. Send for FREE book. LINGUAPHONE INSTITUTE, 86 RCA Bldg., New York. CI 7-0830.

SPANISH, Russian, Polish, Hebrew, Norwegian, Dutch, Swedish, Japanese. 21 other Phonograph Language Courses. **All makes bought, sold, rented.** Free price list. **A.** Alin, 475 5th Ave., New York, MU 3-1093.

PAMPHLETS

WHO are the sycamores? Read The Great Simpleton. Analyze The Happy Turning. Free while they last. Other pamphlets: ask for list. Rooseveltaian Publishers, Box 85, Waltham 54, Mass.

POSITION WANTED

PROFESSOR-PASTOR seeks position with academic freedom to speak and work for liberal causes. **Address: Box 977, The New Republic.**

RESEARCH

SOCIOLOGY, HISTORY: You name the problem, I do the research for you and prepare your speech, publication, bibliography. European-American background. Fee **or share of** profit. Box 867, The New Republic.

TYPING

MANUSCRIPT AND THESIS TYPING, intelligent, inexpensive. Ambassador Office **Service, 17 East 48th St., N. Y. C., PL 3-1364.**

who are both old-line Republicans.

Unions generally take the viewpoint that they cannot expect the initiative in farmer-union coöperation to come from farmers; that the initiative is the unions' job. Farmers are peculiarly subject to influence from the National Association of Manufacturers and its satellite agencies. They "don't like" strikes. It is not easy for unions to reach into the columns of farm papers with their side of a strike story.

Unions will not admit, however, that the farmer is inevitably a conservative, lined up with big business against unions. One of the points they emphasize is that industrial workers, if they expect farm support, must try to understand the special problems of farmers, as, for example, the need for good roads, even though it does require a few pennies more in taxes. Here is where the union leadership runs into trouble. It can get all sorts of resolutions about farmer-labor coöperation through union conventions, but implementing this coöperation from the union side is itself a missionary job. One of the ways unions are trying to reach farmers is through radio, which they find a more effective medium, often, than local newspapers.

Unions are beginning to get farmer support. Both the FE and the UPWA received cash contributions from individual farmers during the 1946 reconversion strikes. The UPWA claims that its public-opinion surveys show that farmers, despite a widely heralded farm-belt "revolt" against the OPA, were not bitterly opposed to the controls, even the one on meat, until after the OPA had been made largely meaningless by undermining attacks.

ODDS AND ENDS. – The International Association of Machinists, which refused to pay per-capita dues to the AFL because, as they saw it, the AFL declined to grant fair treatment in the long jurisdictional dispute with carpenters, has voted in referendum to extend this decision. The IAM, however, is closely tied to the AFL by bonds of history and sympathy, and has sequestered its money for per-capita dues pending the time of reaffiliation.

WILLARD SHELTON

Correspondence

Trouble over Toynbee

SIR: Thanks a lot for your alertness in finding ("The Mystic World of Arnold Toynbee," the *NR*, July 14) R. H. S. Crossman's masterpiece of analysis and exposure of the superficial brilliancy of the static-minded Arnold Toynbee. . . .

Highland Park, Ill. JAMES NEILD

SIR: As a somewhat illiterate person who has just finished the second volume of the Toynbee history and found it the most exciting experience of a long life as a reader since my discovery of the Greek Drama, may I express the hope that you will print a rebuttal of the Crossman article. . . .

Minneapolis, Minn. MARY F. BROWN

SIR: The value of my subscription to your magazine has now been more than repaid by your printing Crossman's comments on Arnold Toynbee. There, indeed, you gave light in a darkening world of human thought. . . .

BERNARD H. CANTOR
Johnson City, Tenn.

SIR: You label the article on Arnold Toynbee by R. H. S. Crossman the most cogent refutation you have seen. . . . Your judgement is flash-in-the-pan. . . .

Berkeley, Calif. EARL D. LYON

SIR: . . . Toynbee has been annoying me for some time now. . . .

HERBERT B. BERNSTEIN
Cincinnati, Ohio

[We print above a few typical reactions to Crossman's discussion of Toynbee. The full body of the correspondence is being forwarded to the author with the expectation that he may himself wish to write a commentary. – THE EDITORS]

Homework

SIR: I note in T. R. B.'s "Washington Wire" in the *New Republic* of July 28 a reference to Prentice-Hall, Inc., and its Labor Course.

A quotation is credited to material in this course which gives the impression that the course is a reference work for employers only. I wish to point out that the course is an impartial compilation of the law itself and court and administrative decisions affecting that law. As such, it is used by labor and government as well as by employers.

T. R. B.'s quotation is not from the Labor Course or any Prentice-Hall ser-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

vice, but rather from a sales letter to employers urging them to subscribe to the course.

I should be grateful if you would make this point clear to your readers.

K. S. GINIGER
Director of Public Relations
Prentice-Hall, Inc.
New York, N. Y.

Sick and Thrifty

SIR: Mr. Engel's article, "Best Buys in Medical Care" (the *NR*, June 30), is informative and he does a good job in pointing out the basic principles involved in health-insurance programs. It was a little surprising to us, however, to find the type of organization represented by Group Health Association barely mentioned in his article. The GHA offers to both groups and individuals in metropolitan Washington one of the most complete health programs available under any plan in the country. The plan is organized as a coöperative, owned and controlled by the membership, with staff physicians on a full-time basis to provide care for participants. Control of the business aspects of the program is exercised by a board of trustees elected by the membership; control of the medical aspects is invested in the medical staff.

MELVIN L. DOLLAR
Executive Director
Group Health Association, Inc.
Washington, D. C.

Bandwagon

Mote

Queen Elizabeth had a cinder in her eye last night and the special train which is carrying the royal family to Scotland made three emergency stops en route so it could be treated.

Five doctors and eye specialists boarded the train to attend the Queen, and one London newspaper headlined the story above Secretary of State Marshall's aid-Europe speech. Apparently all was well this morning, however. –*From the New York* Post.

Holiday in Greece

If it is an ideological war of communism against democracy [in Greece], you see few signs of it. It is a war fought by guerrilla leaders who find it much more exciting and romantic than hoeing corn. . . . A squadron of rocket-firing Spitfires stationed at Ioannina inflicted most of the casualties on the guerrillas last week. – *UP dispatch from Greece.*

Fission Mission

The Oregon convention of the American Legion was addressed today by the legion's state chaplain. The Reverend G. M. Bailey of Pendleton made this statement: "The only way to deal with Godless people is to threaten them with the atomic bomb." – *From the AP radio wire.*

Is Everybody Happy?

The paramount accomplishment of the Republican Congress is the happiness it has caused by assuring the people that the reckless and irresponsible hands of New Dealers no longer control the legislative branch of the government. – *From an article by Representative Charles A. Halleck (R, Ind.); INS wire service.*

Bogey Man

Scott's union [the United Office and Professional Workers, CIO] is known as strongly Communist-infiltrated. So is the American Youth for Democracy, which is represented by the twoheaded veteran and former prisoner of war, Desmond Callan, of Milton, Massachusetts, a student at Columbia University. – *From George Weller's column in the Chicago* Daily News.

Millennium

Calling for a fight against communism and intolerance, the Grand Exalted Ruler of the Elks declared: "Those who do not like our way of life have an invitation to pack up and leave and the sooner this is brought about, the sooner we will be keeping the faith with those who gave their all that we might enjoy uninterrupted freedom." – *From the Portland* Oregonian.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.* – THE EDITORS

MANHATTAN
ALHAMBRA
COLISEUM
81st ST.
86th ST.
58th ST.
Bet. Lex. & 3rd
HAMILTON
125th ST.
REGENT
23rd ST.
BRONX
CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL
WESTCHESTER
MT. VERNON
NEW ROCH.
WH. PLAINS
YONKERS
BROOKLYN
BUSHWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYOU, Coney Is
QUEENS
MIDWAY
Forest Hills
Keith's Flushing
Keith's Rich. Hill
Strand, Far Rock.
MANHATTAN
COLONIAL
B'way & 62 St.

RKO
"DICKENS' BROUGHT TO LIFE ...SHEER DELIGHT."—N. Y. Post
JOHN MILLS
VALERIE HOBSON
'GREAT EXPECTATIONS'
By CHARLES DICKENS
—and—
'THE WEB'
Edmond O'BRIEN • Ella RAINES
"Suspense Thriller."—N.Y. Her. Trib.

"RIP-SNORTING WESTERN."
—N. Y. World-Telegram
DENNIS MORGAN
JANE WYMAN
'Cheyenne'
Janis PAIGE • Bruce BENNETT
—and—
'HIT PARADE of 1947'
Eddie ALBERT • Constance MOORE

RKO ALBEE FULTON & DeKALB BROOKLYN 2d Week
"FULL OF LIFE...TENDER...HUMOROUS."—PM
Samuel Goldwyn's
'THE BEST YEARS OF OUR LIVES'

STAGE PLAY

"A ribaldly entertaining evening"
—George Jean Nathan
MAX GORDON presents
BORN YESTERDAY

The Nation's Brilliant Comedy Smash
by GARSON KANIN
AIR-COND.
NEW YORK · Lyceum Theatre
CHICAGO · Erlanger Theatre

Printed by STEINBERG PRESS, INC., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y. 173

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SAMUEL ROTH

"I will write or publish what seems to me to be true or beautiful," said Samuel Roth at the beginning of his career, "if I have to make a barricade out of every jail in the United States."

Three Times He Suffered Imprisonment

ONLY TO RETURN TO SOCIETY WITH 3 BOOKS WHICH FILL OUR WORLD WITH DELIGHT WHILE THEY REVOLUTIONIZE IT FOR OUR LIVING POSTERITY

"If you're a man, its passion will shake you. If you're a woman, I suppose you will just swoon," writes Norman Lockridge of his novel.

BUMARAP

THE PASSIONATE PILGRIMMAGE OF A MALE VIRGIN FROM A PARK BENCH to PARK AVENUE

"The scene of *Bumarap's* first meeting with *The Countess*—in which he begins by kissing her toes—raises me to the very peak of reading pleasure," the critic goes on.

"For all that, the book is hardly an idle fancy. *Bumarap's* passion is social as well as sexual. It is likely to do more towards healing the class differences of America than a hundred reform laws or a thousand sermons."

From the hero, who acquires his name by telling the judge, "It's a bum-a-rap, yo' honah," to the *Leather Jacket* who preaches on Columbus Circle, "Man already knows how to add, he has only to learn how to divide," to the dog *Trotzky*, to *The Commodore*, his daughter *The Anxiety*, and their servants *Nose-Up* and *Spectacles* you meet a world of people you will never stop quoting—or adoring.

You'll read these 256 excitingly illustrated pages at one sitting—but you'll repeat that sitting many times for the rest of your life. $2

You will love *BUMARAP*, but you will find that the reading of his second book

The PEEP-HOLE of the PRESENT

will serve you as the source of a much deeper pleasure—the pleasure derivable only from a true understanding of the physical world in which we live.

In this revolutionary work done in prison (with the aid of the research facilities of the Government) Roth makes these points:

1. *Consciousness* (whose nature is sexual) is a physical substance which functions as the adhesive that holds the world together.
2. Far from being random or haphazard, *accident* is the only pattern life knows.
3. *Our Earth* is the center of everything—but with a twist that will take your breath away.
4. Time and space are not extensions, but the negatives of one positive. It's not time that separates us from Plato; nor space which stands between Cuba and China.
5. *Personality* is as indestructible as matter.

FROM SIR ARTHUR EDDINGTON'S INTRODUCTION

"Reading it becomes an intellectual adventure of a high order. I am greatly mistaken if it does not live to exert a deep influence on the thinking of the future."

A BIG BEAUTIFUL BOOK $3

Since it was inevitable that the author of THE PEEP-HOLE OF THE PRESENT should apply his startling vision to our most important problems, it may be regarded as a bit of good luck that it resulted in a book like

HALFWAY A POEM OF OUR TIME

in which *The Stranger* (who may be God) shows the poet through the post-war world. The opening lines set the tone of the adventure:

The world was never made to one man's measure.
It was too tight a fit for Alexander;
for Plato it was broad about the shoulders;
while Philo wore it only on the Sabbath.

Their first stop is England

of the great sea-ports, coal-pits, fogs and poets;
England whom one can love as easily as
only their own mothers can love the English.

Something new, something miraculous seems to have happened to the English language as this latter-day Isaiah ranges France, Germany, Poland, Palestine, the Balkans, Russia, Japan and China, hating and loving so intensely that you never really know which is which.

We could go on quoting, only that it is in no way to introduce you to what is perhaps the most important utterance of our time.

BEAUTIFULLY ILLUSTRATED $2

YOU CAN BUY ONE BOOK, TWO BOOKS ALL THE THREE

Every book purchased on the coupon to the left WILL BE AUTOGRAPHED BY THE AUTHOR

ARROWHEAD BOOKS
20 VESEY STREET, NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

Gentlemen: I enclose $_____ for which please send me autographed copies of the books I check below. I may return for full credit what does not please me.

☐ BUMARAP $2 ☐ HALFWAY $2
☐ PEEP-HOLE OF THE PRESENT $3
☐ THE 3 BOOKS FOR $6.50

Name_____

No. & St._____

City_____ Zone_____ State_____

☐ If you wish C. O. D. delivery, check here enclosing $1.00 as assurance of good faith and pay the balance plus postage upon delivery.

SAMUEL ROTH *HIMSELF*

"Roth's reckless truthfulness has not endeared him to the log-rolling gentry who cook up literary opinion in these United States. In France, Germany, Poland and Palestine where his earlier work *Europe* was translated, he is an almost legendary figure."

"In the days of Nathan and Mencken Samuel Roth was known as the bad boy of Greenwich Village. There were quite a few bad boys in the Village then and some, in later years, made names for themselves. So did Roth with his many publishing ventures and writings.

"But in those days he was known as the man who refused to permit *Vanity Fair* to publish his picture, unless he could kiss *Vanity Fair's* editor, who was Clare Boothe, and who grew up to become Clare Boothe Luce. He settled, finally, for a kiss from an associate editor, keeping the whole matter on a literary plane." —JOHN D. KERKHOFF in the Grand Rapids *Herald*.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED